Chinuk Wawa (Chinook Jargon) etymologies

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The purpose of this contribution is to make available our research to date on sources of Chinuk Wawa (Chinook Jargon, hereafter CW) lexical items. The reference lexicon consists of simplex items drawn from the CW dictionary database of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde, Oregon. Most of these items are from word lists, sentences, and texts representing speakers of that community; a smaller subset is from sources documenting other CW varieties of the lower Columbia River region. We have identified probable sources for 680 of the 737 total items collated, divided between Chinookan (282), local Salishan (58), Chinookan and/or Salishan (15), Nootka Jargon (22), other indigenous sources (26), English (137), French (125), and multiple sources (15).

The only comprehensive collations of CW etymologies published to date are Hale (1846) and Gibbs (1863), both of which document CW primarily in its lower Columbia "cradle." Gibbs incorporated Hale and other earlier compilations, using his own mid-nineteenth century experience of CW to single out words in use during his own time; rare or unusual words were labeled by him as such. It is striking how much of this mid-nineteenth century lexicon may also be seen in the CW lexicon independently compiled by us from speakers of the Grand Ronde Reservation Community of northwestern Oregon, circa 1877-1950 (Jacobs 1928, 1928-29, 1932, 1936; Mercier 1941; Hajda 1977; Zenk 1980-83; Johnson 1998). Additional matches are presented by a smaller supplementary vocabulary we have compiled to collate CW words unfamiliar to us from Grand Ronde, but which can reliably be ascribed to Native usage elsewhere on the lower Columbia (Demers, Blanchet, St. Onge 1871, St. Onge 1892, Boas 1892, Harrington 1942). Clearly, the lexicon of CW—at least, that of the lower Columbia region—had acquired relatively stable form by Gibbs's time, and remained little changed as long as there were fluent speakers capable of wielding it.

Hale's, Gibbs's, and our own findings all attest to the hybrid nature of the CW lexicon, the main contributing languages being Chinookan, Southwestern Coast Salish, seafarer-mediated Nootkan (referred to here as Nootka Jargon; see Lang 2008:15-42), French, and English; plus minor additions from Kalapuyan, Cree, and several other languages. While the overall percentages attributed to each main contributing language are roughly comparable in all three compilations, Hale's and Gibbs's work predates modern linguistic records of the local indigenous languages. Quite a few of their attributions stand in need of correction, nor were either of these pioneer scholars equipped to elucidate the forms and functions of corresponding items in local source languages. A thorough re-evaluation and comprehensive presentation of CW etymologies is clearly long overdue. We intend this contribution as a large first step to that end.

In the following compilation, items marked •ʳ (for example, **k'wik'wiyans** •ʳ 'needle, pin') are from the aforementioned supplementary list of

words representing non-Grand Ronde sources. Sources of most such items are identified by the following abbreviations; other sources are given full references.

Bay Center CW: CW as spoken at Bay Center, Washington (Harrington 1942, mf 18.0209-0499; and other mf frames identified by number)	**Lionnet**: Lionnet (1853)
Demers: Demers, Blanchet, St. Onge (1871)	**St. Onge**: St. Onge (1892)
Gibbs: Gibbs (1863)	

All other items represent the CW of the Grand Ronde Reservation community, which is known primarily from the following speakers, as identified in the *ref* field of each Grand Ronde entry. Other Grand Ronde community contributors are identified by their full names.

CR: Clara Menard Riggs	**JH**: John B. Hudson
DC: Dellmore Croy	**JP**: John Petite
EJ: Esther Jones LaBonte	**LK**: Louis Kenoyer
EL: Ethel Countryman Petite Logan	**MM**: Martha Hudson Mercier
EP: Eula Hudson Petite	**VH**: Victoria Wishikin Wacheno Howard
ET: Elmer Tom	**WB**: Wilson Bobb
ID: Ila Hudson Dowd	

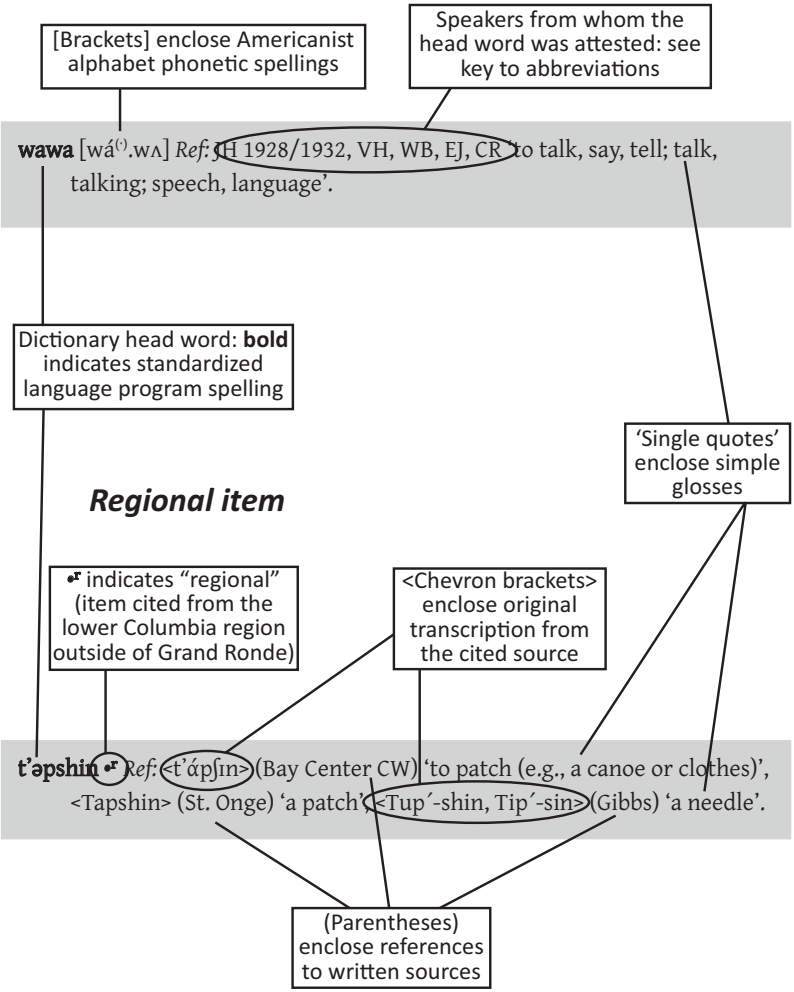
Other abbreviations appearing in these etymologies:

Boas: Boas 1911 (Chinook grammar)	**Kathlamet [Curtis]**: Curtis 1911 (Kathlamet vocabulary)
CCT: *Clackamas Chinook Texts* (Jacobs 1958-59)	**KT**: *Kathlamet Texts* (Boas, 1901)
Chinook [Curtis]: Curtis 1911 (Lower Chinook vocabulary)	**mj**: Melville Jacobs (field notebooks, linguistic slip-files)
Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]: Dell Hymes's ms copy of Boas 1890 (Clatsop vocabulary)	**MLT**: Marie-Lucie Tarpent (personal communications, 2010)
Cowlitz [Kinkade]: Kinkade 2004 (Cowlitz dictionary)	**Powell**: Powell 1991 (Nootkan vocabulary)
CT: *Chinook Texts* (Boas, 1894)	**Sapir and Swadesh**: Sapir and Swadesh 1939 (Nootkan vocabulary)
Dyk: Dyk 1933 (Wishram grammar)	**Snow**: Snow 1969 (Lower Chehalis vocabulary)
Fleury and Barkwell: Fleury and Barkwell n.d. (Michif Cree vocabulary)	**Takeuchi**: Takeuchi 1969 (Santiam Kalapuya vocabulary)
Hymes: Hymes 1955 (Kathlamet grammar)	**Thompson and Thompson**: Thompson and Thompson n.d. (ms Tillamook dictionary)
HNAI 7, HNAI 12: *Handbook of North American Indians,* vols. 7, 12	**Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]**: Kinkade 1991 (Upper Chehalis dictionary)
jph: John P. Harrington (field-notes)	**WT**: *Wishram Texts* (Sapir 1909)

The following diagrams illustrate conventions used in the presentation of lexical items and their associated etymologies.

SAMPLE HEADERS

Grand Ronde item



SAMPLE ETYMOLOGIES

Etym: Usually attributed to Nootkan *wawa* ‘to say’ (Gibbs 1863:28; *cf* Sapir and Swadesh 1939:257); however, while Clark (2005) lists **wawa** among his Nootka Jargon reconstructions, he finds it “poorly attested” in his sources. The word is just as likely, if not indeed more likely to be of Chinookan origin; in Kathlamet and Upper Chinook, √-wa ‘to talk’ is recorded as a verb-stem, *-wawa* ‘speech, language’ as a noun-stem, and *wawa* ‘talking’ as a particle: *i-č-t-i-ẓá-wa-čk* <itctexáwatck> ‘he answered’ (KT 180.8: parsed following Hymes 155), *a-wáwa* ‘it is said’ (KT 20.1), *a-t’úkdi a-wáwa* ‘a good talk’ (*-t’úkdi* ‘good’; Clackamas [mj 53:26]), *wáwa* ‘talking’ (KT 180.3), *wáwa a-ł-q-l-ú-ẓa* <wáwa’ałqlú·ẓa> ‘to talk to (someone)’ (Clackamas [mj 53:26]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [wáwʌ] <wá\wɑ> ‘language’.

Italics indicate Americanist alphabet phonemic spellings.

Nootka Jargon, cited in Clark’s standardized spelling

√ Root form

Language reference: (*phonemic form*, ‘gloss’; language [abbreviated source reference])

(Parentheses) enclose references to written sources

Americanist alphabet phonetic spelling

<Chevron brackets> enclose original transcription from the cited source

Regional CW comparison

\Reverse slants\ enclose phonemic spellings of French words (following *NTC’s New College French and English Dictionary*, 1991)

Etym: From Canadian French \ptsiʒã, tiʒã\, corresponding to Standard French “Petit Jean” \p(ə)tiʒã\ (MLT); *cf* “Ti-Jean”, given as “the French (French Canadian) trickster” (Bakker 1992:63).

Etymologies are assigned to the following nine categories, which appear in the following order: 1) from Chinookan; 2) from local Salishan; 3) from Chinookan and/or local Salishan; 4) from Nootka Jargon; 5) from other indigenous sources; 6) from English; 7) from French; 8) from multiple sources; 9) of obscure origin.

1 From Chinookan

Chinookan word-class labels follow Hymes (1955)

ala •ʳ *Ref*: <ala> (St. Onge: recorded in mamuk-**ala** •ʳ 'to astonish, to admire').

Etym: Apparently from a Chinookan particle: *cf alá·*· 'oh!' (cry of surprise: man's word) (Wishram [Dyk 142]).

alaxti [ʔá/lá$^{(ˈ)}$x̣.tɪ] *Ref:* WB, VH, MM 'maybe; finally'.

Etym: Chinookan in origin, probably from a particle: *aláx̣ti* 'next, at last, soon, then' (CT 27.21, 199.17, 216.6, 227.9).

alta [ʔá$^{(ˈ)}$l.dʌ] *Ref:* JH 1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'now, then'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *álta* 'now' (Boas 634, 636; Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [áltʌ] <’á·ltɑ> 'now'.

aɬqi [ʔá$^{(ˈ)}$ɬ.qɪ~.ġɪ] *Ref:* JH 1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'later, will'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *áɬqi* 'will be' (CCT 40), <ā´ʟqē> 'later on' (Boas 634). *Cf* Bay Center CW [áɬqʰɪ] <’á·ɬkʿɪ> 'after awhile'.

amuti •ʳ *Ref:* <’ɑ·mó·tɪ, ’ɑmó·tɪ> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0100, 18.0494), <amote> (Demers) 'strawberries'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *-amúti* (Hymes 117) 'strawberry', *ɬ-ʔamúti* <tl'ɑmō´tē> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]) 'strawberries'.

ana [ʔa.ná$^{(ˈ)}$] *Ref:* EP [exclamation of surprise].

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *aná·*$^{(ˈ)}$, *ána·* 'oh goodness!, oh dear!' (expression of pain, regret, sorrow, pity) (Boas 635, CCT 495, 506, 541); *aná·* 'oh!, ouch!' (a cry of pain), *á·na* (cry for help: a woman's word) (Wishram [Dyk 141]). In Wishram, the related word *ánan(a)* can serve as a noun with the meaning 'sick, hurt', or a verbal particle with the meaning 'to hurt, be in pain' (Dyk 141).

anqati [ʔá$^{(ˈ)}$n.ɡʌ.ʈɪ~dɪ] *Ref:* JH 1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'long ago, in the past'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *ánqati* <ā´nqatē> (CT 12.15, 22.10, 220.4), *ánġadix* (WT 188.8) 'before, formerly, long ago'. *cf* Bay Center CW [ánqʌtɪ] <’á·nkɑtɪ> 'long ago'.

aptʰa •ʳ *Ref:* <Apeta> (Demers) 'salmon egg'.

Etym: From a Lower Chinook noun: *ɬ-ʔápta* <tl’ā´ptɑ> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *í-ʔapta* 'roe' (Boas 601); *cf* Kathlamet *ɬə́-qapt* 'salmon roe' (KT 76.12; Kathlamet [q] corresponds to Chinook [ʔ]).

ats [ʔá$^{(ˈ)}$ts] *Ref:* JH 1932, VH, CR, WB 'younger sister; sister'.

Etym: From a Chinookan address-form: *ac* <āts> (Boas 610, 612), *aci* (Kathlamet [Hymes 271]) 'younger sister!' *Cf* Bay Center CW <’á·ts> 'sister (older or younger)'.

aw [ʔá$^{(ˈ)}$ʊ] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, CR 'younger brother; brother'.

Etym: From a Chinookan address-form: *au* <áo> (Boas 610, 612), *áwi* (Kathlamet [Hymes 271])

'younger brother'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <'á·w> 'brother (older or younger)'.

ayaq [ʔá/yá$^{(ˈ)}$q; há/yá$^{(ˈ)}$q] *Ref:* JH 1932, VH, WB, EJ 'quickly, immediately; able to'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *áyaq* 'can; quick, quickly' (Boas 568, 634), *áyaq!*, *ayáq!* 'hurry!' (CCT 15, 16). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ʌyáq] <'ɑyáк', 'ɑyyá·к> 'hurry up!'.

chulchul [tšól.tšʊl] *Ref:* EP 'lungs'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *u-čxúlčxul* <utcx̣ō'ltcx̣ōl> (Boas 601, 656), <o-chúl-cẖul> (Cẖinook [Curtis]), <a-chhúl-chhul> (Kathlamet [Curtis]) 'lungs'; *a-iá-čulčul* <ɑyátcwəltcwəl> (Clackamas [mj 65:119]) 'his lungs'.

chxəp [tšxʌ́p, tšxɪ'p; tšʌ́p, tšɪ'p] *Ref:* VH, WB, EJ, CR 'extinguished, out'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *čxup*, *čxəp* <tcx̣up, tcx̣Ep> (Boas 631), *čx̣up* <tcqup> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *čxup* <tcXup> (KT 47.15), *čxə́p* (Clackamas [mj slip-files]) 'extinguish, go out'.

chxi [tšxɪ$^{(ˈ)}$; tšɪ$^{(ˈ)}$] *Ref:* JH 1928/32, VH, WB, EP 'just as, even as; new'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *čxi* <tcx·ī> 'a little while passed, then...' (Boas 636), <tcx·ī, tcXī> 'then' (CT 44.2, 44.8). *Cf* Bay Center CW [tšxí] <tʃxí·> 'fresh'.

c'hakc'hak [ʔ] *Ref:* <Chik-chik> (Demers) 'grey eagle'; <Chák-chak> (Gibbs) 'bald eagle'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *u-č'akč'ák* (Boas 599), *a-č'iqč'íq* (KT 70.8), *-čakčák* <tcɑktcák> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]) 'eagle'; *it-č'iqč'íq-ukš* (Wishram [Dyk 110]) 'eagles'.

c'huẋ [tš'(y)óẋ; tšú$^{(ˈ)}$ẋ] *Ref:* WB, EP 'skinned, scraped'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle, though the paucity of examples and a possible confusion or overlap between the following Chinookan forms and those cited with reference to **t'səẋ** 'split' render the derivation somewhat problematic: *č'úxč'ux* <tc!úXtc!uX> 'peel off' (CT 164.16), *čúxʷ* 'skinned' (CCT 21, Dyk 128).

həm [hʌ́m] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, CR, EP, DC 'odor, a smell'.

Etym: From a Chinookan onomatopoeic particle: <hômm> 'smell' (Boas 630). *Cf* Bay Center CW [hʌm] <hɑ́m> 'a stink; to stink'.

hihi [hí$^{(ˈ)}$.hɪ] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, CR 'to laugh; to play'.

Etym: Although usually attributed to English, the CW also suggests a number of Chinookan onomatopoeic particles: *híhi* <hēhē, hē'hē> 'laugh' (Boas 630, KT 231.2); *há há há* (sound of laughing), *həhəhəhə* (sound of groaning) (CCT 359, 436). *Cf* Bay Center CW <hí·hɪ> 'to laugh'.

ik^{h}anəm [ʔɪ.k^{h}á$^{(ˈ)}$.nʌm; ʔɪ.k̓á$^{(ˈ)}$.nʊm] *Ref:* JH 1932, EJ, CR, EP, Gatschet (1877:146) 'myth, story; to tell a myth'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *-kanam*, *-k'anam* 'myth', as in *i-iá-kanam* <iā'kXanam> 'his myth' (CT 60.title), *i-k'ani-ílx̣am* <i-k!ani-y-ílxam> 'myth town' (Boas 617), *t-k'anám-ukš* <tk!anā'mukc> 'myths' (CT 9.title). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ɪk'ánʌm] <'ɪk'â·nɑm> 'story', Molala (from CW?) *k'á·nim* 'myths and stories' (Molala [mj slip-files]) (note [k']).

ik^{h}ik [ʔɪ'k.ɪk] *Ref:* JH 1928 'fish-hook'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *í-kik* <ī'kXik> 'a hook' (CT 245.23).

ikta [ʔɪ'k.t̓ʌ~dʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'which, what; thing,

something; (male or female) genitals'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *í-kta* 'thing, something, what' (Boas 610, 616), <iktɑ> 'thing' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]); *cf í-kdi* 'something; property' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). The meaning 'genitals' appears also to have a Chinookan precedent: *wá-kdi* 'vagina' (literally, her property), *i-č-kdí* 'my penis' (literally, my property) (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ɪˈktʌ] <ˈɪktɑ> 'what?'.

ikuli •ʳ *Ref:* Bay Center CW <ˈɪˈkʊlɪ> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0145), <ˈɪˈgʊˑlɪ> (N Oregon Coast CW [Harrington 1942:n.p.]) 'whale'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *´-kuli* <´-kolē> (Boas 598), <íě-ko-li> (Chinook [Curtis]); <í-ḳwa-li> (Kathlamet [Curtis]) 'whale'.

ikusaẋ •ʳ *Ref:* <Ekusaɬ> (Demers 31) 'Heaven'.

Etym: From the Chinookan noun *i-gúšaẋ, i-gúsaẋ* 'sky' (see **kusaẋ** below for Chinookan citations). Normally, unstressed Chinookan number/gender prefixes, including *i-* 'masculine singular' here, drop away when Chinookan nouns pass into CW. This form from Demers, showing <e-> where our Chinookan examples show *i-* unstressed, is therefore unusual.

ik'wali [ʔɪˈ.k'wʌ.lɪ] *Ref:* JH 1928 'bracelet'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *´-kʷali*, as in *łá-ła-kʷali* <ʟEˈʟakoalē> 'her bracelet' (CT 238.12). **i-** in our CW form looks to be derived from Chinookan *i-* 'masculine singular': *cf* Demers <Okale> 'bracelet' (showing Lower Chinook *u-* 'feminine singular'), Gibbs <Klikˈ-wal-lie, Klokeˈ-wal-lie> 'brass wire; an armlet or bracelet of brass wire' (with Chinookan *ł-* 'neuter collective', also seen in the CT form). It is unclear whether the differently marked original Chinookan forms so implied had contrasting original meanings. [k'] in our CW form may be from a Chinookan diminutive.

ilaytʰix [ʔí /lá$^{()}$ɪ.tɪx] *Ref:* JH 1928, EP 'slave'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *i-láitix* <ē-láitixˑ, ēláētixˑ> (Boas 597, 612) 'male slave', *u-láitix* <ōláētixˑ> 'female slave' (Boas 597), *iš-láitix* 'two slaves' (CCT 511). *Cf* Bay Center CW <ˈɪlâˑytɪxw̥, ˈɪllâˑytɪ> 'slave'.

ili?i [ʔɪˈ.lɪ.ʔɪ; ʔɪˈ.lɪ.hɪ; ʔɪˈ.lɪʔ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'earth, land, place'.

Etym: From a Lower Chinook noun. According to Boas, the stem is √-lx <-lẋ> 'ground, earth', preserved intact in the Kathlamet and Upper Chinook forms *í-lx* <ēˈlX> 'land' (KT 11.9), *wí-lx* 'the ground; year' (CCT 445, 259); but contracted in Lower Chinook due to the presence of a following accented vowel: thus, *i-lí.i* <ilēˈē> 'land, country' (Boas 568, 601). But compare the following Clatsop Lower Chinook series (as recorded by Boas in 1890): *í-li.i* <í-lēē> 'land', *i-čá-li.i* <itcálēe> 'my land, her land', *i-iá-li.i iáẋka* <iāˈlēe yáqka> 'his land', *i-mí-li.i maika* <imēˈlēe mɑikɑ> 'thy land' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas). *Cf í-lxam* <ēˈlẋam> 'town', *ł-guɬílxəmk* <ɪgōʟēˈlẋEmk> 'person', *tá-lxəm* <têˈlxˑEm> 'people' (source of CW **tilixam** 'person, people'), all based on the stem √-lx (Boas 568, 612). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ʔɪlí ʔɪ] <ˈɪlí ˈì > 'ground'.

iłana •ʳ *Ref:* <ˈɪˈˑxt ˈɪˈˑɬɑnɑ> (Bay Center CW) 'one fathom', <Itlana> (Demers); 'fathom, yard', <Itˈ-lan, It'h-lan> (Gibbs) 'a fathom'; "the

length of the extended arms".

Etym: Presumably from a Chinookan noun, although the derivation is not entirely clear. Hymes (99, 130) lists Kathlamet *-łana* <-Lana> 'string' and *-nxa* <-nXa> 'fathom' as masculine nouns: *cf* Wasco-Wishram *i-łána* 'string' (Hymes slip-files); but also, Kathlamet *í-łanxa* <ē´ɩanXa> 'one fathom long' (KT 136.17, parsed by Hymes as <(í)-La-nXa>), Clatsop *íyanxa* <ē´yanqa> 'fathom' (Hymes *pace* Boas).

iłaqwa [ʔɪˈɬʌ/qwá(ʔ)] *Ref:* JH 1928 'mud-turtle'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *í-łaxʷa* <ē´ɩaxoa> 'turtle' (Boas 606).

iłukuma [ɪˈɬʊ.k̬ʊ.mʌ; ʔɪˈɬɪ.k̬ʊm ~k̬om, ʔɪˈɬʌ.k̬ʊm] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, ET, Gatschet (1877:335) 'handgame'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *í-łukuma* <ēɩukuma [sic], ī´ɩukuma> "itlukum" (a game) (CT 17.4, 167.1), *í-ługʷma* 'the hand-game' (CCT 250, 254). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ɪˈɬʌkʊm] <'ɪ''łɑkʊm'> 'bone in the hand gambling game'.

iłwəli [ʔɪˈɬ.wə.lɪ; ʔɪˈɬ.ʔwəl] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, EJ, WB, CR 'meat, flesh'.

Etym: From a Lower Chinook noun: *í-łʔuli* <ē´-ɩʔwuɩe, ē´ɩʔuɩē> 'meat' (Boas 608, CT 39.12); *cf* Upper Chinook *i-łġʷól*, *i-ƛġʷól* 'meat' (CCT 15, 556). The original Chinookan stem-form has [ġw], which changes to [ʔ] according to a Lower Chinook phonological rule not shared by Upper Chinook (Boas 568). *Cf* Bay Center CW [íɬʔuli] <'í·łʼʊlɪ> 'meat'.

ina [ʔí(ʔ).nʌ(ʔ)] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, EJ, JP 'beaver'.

Etym: From a Lower Chinook noun: *i-ʔína* <ē̃ʔē´na, -ʔēna> 'beaver' (Boas 568, 598); *cf* Kathlamet *i-qánuq* (KT 20.5, 23.1, 24.1), Upper Chinook (CCT 417) *i-ġánuq* 'beaver'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [ʔí·nʌʔ] <'í·nɑ', 'î·nɑ'> 'beaver' (mf 18.0872, 0873).

inatay [ʔɪˈ.nʌ.t̬ɩ, ʔí(ʔ).nʌ.t̬ɩ] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'across, on the other side'.

Etym: From a Chinookan source, according to Hymes a noun with masculine singular *i-*: hence, *í-nata-i* <ē´nata, ē´natai> (Boas 621, 638), <ínɑtɑi> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *í-nat-ix* <í-nat-iX> (Kathlamet [Hymes 118]), *ínadix* (CCT 552) 'across, on the other side'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [ínʌtɩ] <'í·nɑtɑy> 'across'.

inəpʰu [ʔɪˈ.nə.pʰʊ; ʔɪˈn.pʰʊ] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'louse; insect'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *´-napu* <´-napō> (Boas 1904:137), *wí-npu* (CCT 91) 'flea'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [ʔínpʊ] <'î·npʊ, 'í·npʊ> 'louse; flea'.

ipsət [ʔɪˈp.sət, ʔí(ʔ)p.sət; ʔɪˈp.sʊt, ʔí(ʔ)p.sʊt] *Ref:* JH 1928, CR, EP 'hidden, secret'.

Etym: From a Chinookan verb; apparently, a simple imperative with *i-* (transitive third-person masculine object) + *-pšut* 'hide' <-o=pcut> 'to hide' (verbal stem) (Boas 660): *cf* *a-n-x-pšút-a* <anxpcō´ta> '[future-I-reflexive- *Stem* -future] I will hide myself' (KT 157.13), *i-č-a-łˈ-xá-pšut* <itcaɩxápcōt> '[past-he-her (=-it) -it (=him) -from-*Stem*] he hid it from him' (KT 17.16) (parsed forms following Hymes 158). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ʔípsʊt] <'í·psʊ·t> 'to hide'.

iqʰix [ʔɪˈ.qɪx] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH 'brother-in-law'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *í-qix* <ē´qxiX> 'brother-in-law!' (CT 12.2, 12.3). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ɪˈqʰɪx] <'ɪˈкк'ɪx> 'brother in law'.

iqsix [ʔɪˈq.sɪx] *Ref:* VH, JH 1928

'son-in-law; parent-in-law'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *í-qsix* <ḗ-qsix·> 'parent-in-law' (Boas 611), <ē′qsiX> 'father-in-law!' (CT 24.3); *í-qšix* 'father-in-law' (CCT 176).

isałx̣ [ʔí(ˀ).sʌɬx̣] *Ref:* JH 1928 'corn'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *ł-ʔíšałx̣* <ʟˀē′caʟx> a red berry, unidentified (CT 46.25, 47.2), <ẖlˈí-ŝẖaẖlẖ> "partridge berries" (Kathlamet [Curtis 8:201]). Harrington (mf 18.0096) reviewed Curtis with Emma Luscier of Bay Center, who recognized Curtis's form and identified the berry in question as Kinnikinnick. She elsewhere (mf 18.0482) gave Bay Center CW [ʔɪ′sʌɬx̣] <’ɪ́·sɑ́ɬx̣> 'corn'.

isik [ʔɪ′.sɪk] *Ref:* JH 1928, LK, VH 'paddle, oar'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *í-sik* <-sik, ē′sik> (Boas 601, Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ísʌk] <’ɪ́·sɑk> 'a paddle'.

iskam [ʔɪ′s.k̓ʌm] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'get, take'.

Etym: From a Chinookan verb; a simple imperative with *i-* (transitive third-person masculine object) + √šg 'to take, seize' (verbal stem) + *--am* (suffix: completion): *í-šg-am* <ē′-cg-am> '[him- *Stem* -completion] take him!' (Boas 591). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ɪ′skʌm] <ɪ′skɑm> 'to dig (= get)' (mf 17.0180).

ishish [ʔɪ′š.ɪš] *Ref:* VH 'to dance'.

Etym: According to Jacobs (mj 51:8-9), *íšʔiš* <íc’ɪc> "is said in Clackamas to children 'Dance!'". This points to yet another Chinookan verbal particle. While Chinookan verbal particles are the source of much of the CW lexicon, this one is recorded as CW only from VH, a Clackamas speaker.

itsax̣wa [ʔɪ′.tsʌ.x̣wʌ; ɪ′.tšʌ.k̓wʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928 "Indian money".

Etym: Apparently from a Chinookan noun with masculine singular *i-*; *cf* Clackamas <ĭ′x^{k}hwɔt tcū> 'white clam-shell beads' (Drucker 1934). The lack of a more reliably recorded Chinookan form however renders the identification tentative.

itsx̣ut [ʔɪ′ts.x̣ʊt; ʔɪ′ts.x̣wət; ʔɪ′.tsʊt~tswət] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, EJ 'black bear'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *i-íčx̣ut* <i-ítsxut, iítcxōt, ēē′tcxōt> (Boas 605, 609, CT 60.18, 217.17) 'black bear'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <’ɪ′ts.x̣ʊt> 'bear'.

iwa [ʔí(ˀ).wʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, ET '(that-a-)way, (which-)way'; EP 'other one; another'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *íwa* <ē′wa, íwa> 'thus, there' (Boas 621, 626, 666). Hymes (290) terms this element an "ubiquitous" particle-stem, occurring both singly and in compounds; the CW, likewise, is recorded both independently and in compounds.

ixt [ʔí(ˀ)xt; ʔí(ˀ)x] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'one'.

Etym: From a Chinookan cardinal number. Dyk (136-141) assigns Wishram cardinal numbers to a special class of particles: hence, *ixt* '1'. Hymes assigns most Kathlamet cardinal numbers to his class NP, words that can occur either as nouns (inflected for number and person) or as particles (uninflected for number and person); the exceptions are '10' and '100', recorded only as nouns, and '1', which Hymes (70) classifies as a pronoun: hence, *(i-)ixt* 'one (denoting other than person)'. Note that it is not possible to decide between these two interpretations on phonetic grounds, since *i-* (if present) has disappeared into

following [i]. *Cf* Bay Center CW <î·xt, ʼí́xt, ʼɪxt, ʼɪxt> 'one'.

ixti [ʔí(ˈ)x.t̬i; ʔí(ˈ)x.ʂti] *Ref:* ET, WB 'once'.

Etym: From a Chinookan form combining the numeral 'one' with the Lower Chinook adverbial suffix *-i* (= *-ix* in Kathlamet and Upper Chinook): *íxt-i* <ē′x̣ti> (Boas 667), *(i-)ixt-ix* (Kathlamet [Hymes 83]: refer to **ixt**, *etym*), *íxd-ix* (CCT 492) 'once'.

ix̣puy [ʔí′x.pʊɪ; ʔʌ́x̣.pɔɪ, ʔʌ́x̣.pwʌ] *Ref:* VH, WB, EJ, CR 'shut, covered'.

Etym: From a Chinookan verb; apparently, a simple imperative with *i-* (transitive third-person masculine object) + x̣- (reflexive) + √-pu 'to close' (verbal stem): *cf i-x̣-pú-ti* <ixpō′tē> 'it is locked' (CT 12.3), *ig-i-s-x̣-pú-xuit* <igîsxpō′Xuît> '[tense-he-the.two-reflexive-*Stem* -passive:] he closed (his) two (eyes)' (KT 43.14, parsed following Hymes 157). *Cf* Bay Center CW <ʼí′x̣pʊy> 'to close, to shut'.

kʰa [kʰá(ˈ); qʰá(ˈ)] *Ref:* JH 1932, VH, WB, CR 'still, yet, while'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *ka* 'when, while' (*vs ka~qa* 'where') (Kathlamet [Hymes 276, 291]); <ka> 'and, then', <cka> 'and, while' (conjunctions joining sentence-level constructions) (Boas 636); *ka* 'with, while, and even, also' (conjunction) (CCT 23, 48, 116, 117, 177). Note that Demers' dictionary shows <Ka> 'again', <Kawek> 'not yet', *vs* <kaɬ> 'where' (for **qʰax̣**, alternate form of **qʰa** 'where').

kʰalakwati •ʳ *Ref:* <kɑlɑkwá·tɪ'> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0903) 'cedar bast', <Kalakwat> (Demers) 'cedar bark'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *it-kalagʷa-dit*, *it-kagílagwa-dit* 'roofing, covering' (Wishram [Dyk 105]); *cf č-i-k-gí-la-kʷ-t* 'he has him covered' (Wishram [Dyk 105]), *aqugalálkʷɬa itǵʷə́λi* 'they'll cover their houses (*itǵʷə́λi*) with cedar bark' (Clackamas [mj slip-files]). *Cf* also *a-lkwádit* 'tule' (Wishram [Dyk 105]).

kalaytən [k̬á/lá(ˈ)ɪ.t̬ən] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH 'arrow'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *u-kuláitan*, *ú-kulaitan* 'arrow' (Boas 604, 609). *Cf* Bay Center CW [kʌlʌ́ɪtʌn] <kɑlɑ́ytɑn> 'arrows, bullet'.

kʰamuksh [kʰá(ˈ).mʊkš] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'dog'.

Etym: Apparently originally from a Chinookan noun, though the derivation is obscure: *u-gú-xamukš* <ō-gú-x̣amukc> ([x] from underlying [k]?) 'my dog' (Boas 585). *-[k]amukš* looks to be based on a stem-form + nominal plural *-ukš*; it indeed resembles (and is ultimately related to?) the plural form *-liq'ám-ukš* 'wolves' (CT 62.23, 64.6, 150.20). However, it is unclear why Boas's example should have a singular referent; nor is there any record of a Chinookan stem-form minus *-ukš*. *Cf* Bay Center CW <kɑ·mʊ́kʃ> 'dog'.

kamusaq [k̬ʌ.mó(ˈ).sʌq] *Ref:* JH 1928 'beads'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *t-kamúsak* <tkamō′sak> 'beads' (CT 240.6). *Cf* Bay Center CW [kʌmʌ́sʌk] <kɑmô·ssɑ́k> 'beads'.

kʰanawi [kʰá(ˈ).nʌ.wɪ, kʰʌ́.nʌ.wɪ; kʰá(ˈ).nʌ, kʰá(ˈ).nʊ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'all, every, entirely'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *kána+wi* (Kathlamet [Hymes 282, 290]), <kánauwē, kā′nawi> (Boas 637, 674) 'all, every', *kánawi* (Clackamas [mj 53:66]) 'all over'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [kánawɪ, kʌ́nʌwɪ] <ká·ná·wɪ́,

kánnɑwɪ> 'all'.

kʰanumakwst [kʰá.nʊ/má(ˈ)kwst; kʰá.nʊ/má(ˈ)kws ~má(ˈ)ks; kʰá.nʌ/má(ˈ)kwšt] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB 'both, together, each other'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *kana+mákst* (Kathlamet [Hymes 282]); <kā′namôkst>, <skanasmôkst> (CT 29.6, Boas 637; *s-* dual); *škánamákʷšt* (CCT 408; *š-* dual) 'both'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [kánʌmakwst] <ká·nɑma·kw̥st> 'both'.

kʰapa [kʌ.pʌ~bʌ; kʊ.p̬ʌ~bʌ, ko.pʌ~bʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR '[universal preposition]'.

Etym: From the same Chinookan particle that is the source of **kʰapá** 'over there' (see etymology note there).

kʰapá [kʰʌ.pá(ˈ); kʰʊ.pá(ˈ), kʰo.p̬á(ˈ)] *Ref:* JH 1932, VH, WB, EJ, ET, CR 'over there'.

Etym: From a Kathlamet Chinook and/or Upper Chinook particle: *kúpa*, *kupá*, parsed by Hymes (282) as √ku 'there' + *-pa* (locative suffix); *kʷábá*, *kʷába*, *kʷaba* 'there' (CCT 14, 19). *Cf* Bay Center CW <kʊppá·> 'there'.

kapxu [k̬á(ˈ)p.xʊ; k̬á(ˈ).pʰo] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH 'older sibling'.

Etym: From a Chinookan address-form: *kápxu* <kā′pxō> 'older sibling!' (Boas 608, 612). *Cf* Bay Center CW <ká·p.xʊ> 'brother (older or younger [sic?])'.

katsaq [k̬á(ˈ).tsʌq, k̬ʌ́.tsʌq] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB 'center, middle'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *káčak* <kā′tcEk, kā′tsEk> (Boas 658, 666, CT 41.24), <kā′tcak> (KT 50.11) 'middle'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [kátsʌk] <kû·tsɑk> 'in the middle'.

kələkələ [k̬ʌ́.lʌ.k̬ʌ̀.lʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'bird'.

Etym: From Chinookan, though the exact source is uncertain; we find the following partial form/meaning matches: *k-t-gá-kal*, *t-gá-kal* <ktgE′kal, tgE′kal> (CT 60.6, 61.5), *q-t-k-gála* <qtkgā′la> (KT 44.3), *iɬ-c'ígala* (Clackamas [mj slip-files]) 'a bird' (literally, 'a flier', a noun based on the verbal stem √-ka or √-ga 'to fly'); *-galal* 'flying' (a noun, as in *i-ia-galal* 'an airplane'; Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]); *glál glál* <glE′l glE′l> (an onomatopoiec particle, conveying the voice of Chicken Hawk in myth; WT 91.10-11, 13-14). *Cf i-q'ilíq'ili* <iq!elē′q!elē> 'turkey' (KT 70.10), *t-k'ilak'iláma* <tk!elak!elā′ma> 'geese' (Boas 608), *i-k'lák'la* 'geese' (Clackamas [mj slip-files]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [kʌlákʌlʌ] <kɑlá·kɑlɑ> 'bird'.

kʰəltəs [kʰʌ́l̥.t̪əs~dəs] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'merely, only; worthless'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *káltaš* <káltas, kā′ltac> 'only, in vain' (Boas 634, 637). *Cf* Bay Center CW [káltʌs] <kâ·ltɑs> 'no good'.

kʰənəx̣ [kʰʌ́/nʌ́x̣] *Ref:* WB, EP 'even (so)'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *qánax̣*, *qánáx̣*, *qánaġa* 'just, even' (CCT 25, 65, 85); *qaná+qa* 'vain' (Kathlamet [Hymes 284, 288]).

kənim [k̬ʌ.nɪ́(ˈ)m, k̬ɪ.nɪ́(ˈ)m] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB 'canoe, boat'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *i-kaním* <ikanī′m> (Boas 569, 603), *i-kánim* (Kathlamet [Hymes 94]) 'canoe'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [kʰʌním] <kʿɑní·m> 'canoe'.

kʰəpit [kʰʌ́/pɪ′(ˈ)t; kʰʊ́/p̬ɪ′(ˈ)t, kʰʊ́/pɪ′(ˈ)t] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'finish, stop; just, only'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle:

kapít, *kupít* (*it* ~ *ət*) <kapê′t, kapE′t, kōpE′t, kōpä′t> (Boas 637, CT 227.24, 259.10, etc.) 'enough'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [kʊpʌ́t] <kʊpʌ́t> 'to stop'.

kikwəli [k̟í.k̟wə.lɪ] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'down, below, under'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *gík*^{w}*li* <kē′kXulē, gē′kXulē, gē′kulē> (CT 16.8, 16.25, 217.13), *gík*^{w}*alix* <gē′gualîX> (KT 12.12), *gíg*^{w}*lix* (CCT 90) 'down, below'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [kíkwʌli] <kí·kwɑlɪ′> 'low down, underneath, deep'.

k^{h}ilali •^{r} *Ref:* <Kelale> (Demers) 'Indian medicine'.

Etym: From a Chinookan verbal and nominal stem: *i-u-k*^{w}*iláli* <iōkwēlā´lē> 'he practices shamanistic rites' (a verb: Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *it-kílalit* 'doctoring' (a noun: Wishram [Dyk 109]), *id-ia-xílalit* <idiɑxílalit> 'Indian doctor' (a noun: Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]).

k^{h}imt'a [k^{h}ɪ′m/t′á$^{(ˈ)}$~t̟á$^{(ˈ)}$; k′ɪ′m.t̟ʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, CR 'behind, to the rear'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *k'imtá* <k!îmtá> 'last' (Boas 666). *Cf* Bay Center CW [k'ímt'ʌ] <k'î·mt'α, k'ĭ·mt'α> 'last, behind'.

kishkish [k̟ɪ′š.k̟ɪš] *Ref:* WB, ET, MM 'chase, pursue, drive'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *gə́šgəš* 'to drive' (Boas 631). The Chinookan may in turn be related to the Kalapuyan verb stem <gisga> (Takeuchi item 172) 'to drive away'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [kə́škəš] <kə́ʃkəʃ> 'to drive away'.

k^{h}iyutən [k^{h}í/yú$^{(ˈ)}$.t̟ən, k^{h}yú$^{(ˈ)}$.t̟ən] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, CR 'horse'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *i-kíutan* <-kē′utan, ikē′utan> 'horse' (Boas 598, 650). *Cf* Bay Center CW [kíyutʌn] <kí′yʊtá·n, kí·yu·tán, kɪ′yʊtαn, kɪ′wtαn> 'horse'.

kupkup [k̟ʊ́p.k̟ʊp] *Ref:* JH 1928, Gatschet (1877:329) 'small dentalia'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *-kupkúp* (Boas 601, 656, Kathlamet [Hymes 103]), *it-gúpgup* (Clackamas [mj slip-files]) 'small dentalia'.

kusax̟ [k̟ú$^{(ˈ)}$.sʌx̟] *Ref:* JH 1928 'sky'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *i-gúšax̟* <-gō′cax, i-gúcax> 'sky' (Boas 601, 642). *Cf* Bay Center CW [kʊ́sʌx̟] <kû·sαx̟> 'sky'.

kwansəm [k̟wá$^{(ˈ)}$n.sʊm~sʌm; k̟wá$^{(ˈ)}$.nɪ.sɪm] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'always'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *g*^{w}*ansum*, *g*^{w}*anisum* <guā′nsum, kwā′nisum, guā′nEsum, guā′nsEm> (Boas 634, CT 12.16, 197.22, 198.26), *g*^{w}*ánisim* (CCT 509) 'always'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [kwánɪsʌm] <kwá·nɪsȧm> 'always'.

kwiskwis [k̟wɪ′s.k̟wɪs] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ, EP, JP 'chipmunk'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *a-gúsgus* '(striped) chipmunk' (Clackamas [mj 52:13]), *a-gusk*^{w}*ís* <aguskwä′s> 'chipmunks' (KT 141.13).

k'alak'iya •^{r} *Ref:* <kālākēya> (Pinart [Grant 1951:285]) 'oignon sauvage', <Kalaka> (Demers) 'wild onion'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *iɬ-k'álak'iya* " _ camas" (flat, button-like) (Clackamas [mj slip-files]; identified as "button Brodiaea roots" in CCT 301), *a-k'álak'ia* "button, an edible root" (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). Jacobs preserved a specimen of this plant (mj 52:136), which presumably served as the basis of his identification in CCT. Brodiaea bulbs have a flattened appearance, explaining the semantic association

with "buttons".

k'anawi [k'ʌ́.nʌ.wɪ] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH 'acorn'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *a-k'ánawi* 'acorns' (CCT 423), *it-k'ánawi* '(lots of) acorns' (CCT 424). *Cf* Bay Center CW [k'anawɪ′, k'ʌ́nʌwɪ] <k'ɑ·nɑ·wɪ′, k'ɑnɑwɪ′, k'ɑ́nɑwɪ> 'acorn'.

k'aw [k'á$^{(ˈ)}$ʊ] *Ref:* VH, WB EJ, CR 'tied; to tie'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *k'au* (CT 123.119, 204.26, CCT 13), *k'áuk'au* (CT 118.6, 22.7) 'to tie; tied'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <k'á·w> 'to tie'.

k'awk'awiq •ʳ *Ref:* <kawkawak> (Lionnet), <Káw-ka-wak> (Gibbs) 'yellow'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *i-k'auk'áuwiq* <ik'auk'au′wiḳ> "a wood used for extracting yellow color" (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), <ĭě-kô-kô′-wŭk> 'yellow; Oregon grapes' (Chinook [Curtis]), *iɬ-k'auk'au* 'Oregon grapes' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]); *cf* Columbia River Sahaptin *šk'áuk'au* 'Oregon grape (*Berberis nervosa*)', *łk'áuk'au* 'tall Oregon grape (*B. aquilifolium*)' (Hunn 1990:352).

k'aʔ [k'á$^{(ˈ)}$ʔ, k'ʌ́ʔ] *Ref:* VH, WB, EP, JP 'quiet; shut up!'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *k'a* <k!ā> 'silent, quiet, nothing' (Boas 632; CT 37.9, 40.9, 65.8, 129.2, 203.8, 261.1).

k'əlak'əla(ma) •ʳ *Ref:* <Kalakalama> (St. Onge), <Kal-ak-a-láh-ma> (Gibbs), <'ɪ·k'ɑlâ·k'ɑlɑ> (jph 18.0129 [Emma Luscier]: given as Chinookan) 'goose'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *t-k'ilak'iláma* <tk!elak!elā´ma> 'geese' (Boas 608); <ó-ku-la-kŭ-lá-ma> (Chinook [Curtis]), <i-ḳŭ-lá-ḳŭ-lŭ> (Kathlamet [Curtis]) 'goose'; *i-k'lák'la* 'geese' (Clackamas [mj slip-files]). While the Harrington citation from Emma Luscier above was given as Chinookan (one of Harrington's attempts to get her to re-elicit Chinookan words from Curtis's lists), Mrs. Luscier did not speak Chinookan and remembered mainly Chinookan nouns that she also knew as CW. Hence, it is likely that she knew this word also as CW. As CW, we would not expect it to retain Chinookan *i-* (masculine singular), since the latter is unstressed in the Chinookan form. Mrs. Luscier attached *i-* to almost all words she identified as Chinookan.

k'ilapay [k'ɪ′.lʌ.pʌɪ, k'í$^{(ˈ)}$.lʌ.pʌɪ; k'ɛ́$^{(ˈ)}$.lʌ.pʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'come back, return, reverse'.

Etym: From a Chinookan inflected verb; Hymes identifies a verb-stem √-lap 'to fall over', prefixed by *k'i-*, an element of problematic significance: *ig-i-k'í-lap-xit-ix* <igēk!ē′lapx·itĭX> '[tense-he-(?)-*Stem* -passive-(?)] he fell over' (KT 184.4; parsed following Hymes 205); *cf aštik'ilápx^{w}itxi* <actik!ēlā′pXuitxē> 'they turned over each other' (CT 127.4), *kłik'iláləpli* <kɪik!'elā′lEplē> 'she turned them over and over' (CT 63.5), *gatkłiq'ílapayx* 'they lay them down on their backs there' (CCT 19), *gašík'ilapxit* 'he fell back' (CCT 15). *Cf* Bay Center CW [k'ílʌpʌɪ] <k'í·lɑpɑy> 'to turn over'.

k'ilxchu •ʳ *Ref:* <Kelkicho> (Demers) 'bottle', <Kelkicho, Kilitsut> (St. Onge) 'bottle, glass'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *wa-k'ílxču*, *a-k'ílxčut* 'a bottle', *a-k'ílxču* 'flint', *i-k'ílxču* 'Flint' (a myth-age person) (Clackamas [mj slip-files]).

k'ip^{h}wat [k'ɪ′p~k'í$^{(ˈ)}$p.wʌt] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, EJ 'awl, needle, pin; to sew'.

Etym: Of Chinookan origin; evidently, from the noun stem *-k'ipwa* plus a suffix (*-at* derivational?; see Hymes 148): *cf i-k'ípwa* 'awl', *a-k'ípwa* 'needle' (Clackamas [mj slip-files]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [k'ípwʌt] <k'í·pwɑt, k'í·pwɑt> 'needle'.

k'ix [k'ɪ́x] *Ref:* EP 'over-satiated'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *k'əx̣* <k!Ex> 'cloyed' (Boas 623), 'over-satiated' (CT 46.24), 'smell of fat' (CT 137.7); *k'áx̣k'əx̣* <k!E'xk!Ex> 'overeaten' (CT 136.8).

k'uyk'uy [k'ó$^{(}$ɪ.k'oɪ] *Ref:* JH 1928 'finger-ring'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: <-k!oyē'k!oyē> 'finger-ring' (Boas 601). According to Gibbs (1863a:10), the Chinookan source-word can also mean 'circle'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <k'^{w}ʊyó·k'^{w}ʊyʊ·> 'finger ring'.

k'uy? [k'óɪʔ] *Ref:* EP 'hopefully, wishing that ... [adverb]'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *qui* <qōi> 'will' (Boas 634, CT 162.1, 183.2, 60.11, 13.5), 'let us' (CT 29.10), 'shall' (CT 152.2).

k'wan •ᴿ *Ref:* <ʜwan> (Demers) 'tame, quiet, gentle, meek'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *k'^{w}an* 'hopeful', *k'^{w}ánk'^{w}an* 'glad, happy' (Boas 629, 632), <kwan, kwankwan> 'glad' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *k'wank'wan* 'to be glad' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). Either identical with, or confused in the sources with **q'wan** 'habituated': *cf q'^{w}ánq'^{w}an* <q!oánq!oan> 'glad' (CT 241.5), *k'wan* 'to be in the habit' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]).

k'was [k'wá$^{(}$s] *Ref:* Jacobs 1928, VH, WB, EJ, ET, CR 'afraid'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *k'^{w}aš* <k!wac> (Boas 600, 632), *k'waš* (CCT 492) 'afraid'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <k'wá·s> 'afraid'.

k'witk'wit [k'wɪ't.k'wɪt; k'wʌ́t.k'wət; k'wɪ't, k'wə́t] *Ref:* VH, WB, EJ, CR 'to pick or break off; broken off'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *k'^{w}ə́tk'^{w}ət* 'pick; tear up; pull up' (Clackamas [mj 53:119; CCT 489, 508]), *k'útk'ut* <k!útk!ut> 'tear to pieces; to pluck' (Boas 631, Sapir in Boas 643); *k'^{w}ə́t* 'pull off' (CCT 79), *k'ut* <k!ut> 'to tear off' (Boas 631).

lakit [lá$^{(}$.k̠ɪt; lá$^{(}$kt] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ 'four'.

Etym: From a Chinookan cardinal number: *lákit* (Boas 637), *lákt* (Boas 670, CCT 123) 'four'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [lákʌt] <lá·kɑt> 'four'.

lax̣ [lá$^{(}$x̣; lá$^{(}$x̣w] *Ref:* VH, WB 'leaning, lopsided, tipped'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *lax̣(^{w})*, *lax(^{w})* <lāx(°), lāX(°)> 'tilt, rock' (Boas 633, CT 15.25, KT 115.1). *Cf* Bay Center CW <lá·x̣w> 'to tip'.

lili [lí$^{(}$.li] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'awhile, for/after some time; a long time'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *líli* <lē'lē> 'long (time)' (Boas 634, KT 10.7). *Cf* Bay Center CW <lí·lɪ> 'time'.

liwan [lí$^{(}$.wʌn] *Ref:* JH 1928 'ribs'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *t-liwánəma* <t-lēwánn̄ma> 'ribs' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *t-iá-liwanəma* <tiálēwanEma> 'his ribs' (CT 114.6).

loqa [lɔ́$^{(}$.qʌ] *Ref:* WB 'to swallow, drink'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *luq'* 'swallow, eat' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]), *ləq'^{w}* <lEq!°> 'swallow' (KT 148.3); *cf* √-ləq'~-wulq' (verb-stem, as in *ia-m-ú-ləq'* <iamō'lEq!> 'I swallow you', KT 65.11;

a-n-ɬ-u-wúlq'-am-a <anʟuwúlq!ama> 'I will eat them', KT 121.10: parsed following Hymes 207, 265).

lulu [lú(ʔ).lu] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, LK, EJ, CR 'carry, take along, bring'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *lúlu* 'gather up, pile up, collect' (CCT 67, 158, 373, 374). Compare **luʔluʔ** 'round'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <lû·lʊ> 'take it!'.

luxlux •ʳ *Ref:* <Loɬ·oloɬ> (Demers) 'slippery, polished, even'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *lúxlux* <lúx̣lux> 'slick' (Boas 633), *luxlúx* <luX̌lúX> 'slippery' (KT 188.2), <lōqˣuluqˣ> 'slickly' (?) (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]; illegible original).

luʔluʔ [lóʔ.lʊ(ʔ), lóʔ.lo(ʔ); ló(ʔ).lo] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, LK 'round; pile up, accumulate'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *lólo*, *lúlu* <lō′lō, lō′Elō, lɛ́wlɛw, lú(ʔ)lu> 'round' (Boas 632, CT 14.17, 186.23, 228.25, CCT 426, 466). Evidently confused by linguists with the Chinookan source-forms yielding **lulu** 'carry, bring'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [lóʔlóʔ] <ló'ló'> 'round'.

łakatat [ɬá.k̓ʌ.t̓ʌt; ɬí′.kɪ.t̓æ(ʔ)t] *Ref:* JH (Jacobs 1945:53), WB, EJ, Gatschet (1877:31) 'Klickitat'.

Etym: From a Chinookan name for southwest Washington Sahaptins: *łáqatat* (*ƛ̓áqatat*?) <ʟE′qatat> 'the Klickitat' (CT 277.3; respelled as *ƛ̓'áqatat* [sic] in HNAI 12:349).

łaksta [ɬá(ʔ)ks.t̓ʌ, ɬáks.t̓ʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, WB, CR 'who?; who...'.

Etym: From a Lower Chinook interrogative pronoun: *łáksta* <ʟáksta> 'who?' (Boas 650: appearing only by way of example; no coverage in the grammar), *níkšt łákšta* <nē′kct ʟā′kcta> 'nobody' (CT 268.5, 200.4: Lower Chinook *nikšt* 'not'; cf. CW **wik-łaksta** 'nobody'); <tláksta> 'who' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ɬákstʌ] <łá·kstɑ> 'who?'.

łak'amas [ɬá(ʔ).k'ʌ.mʌs, ɬʌ́.k'ʌ.mʌs] *Ref:* LK, WB 'Clackamas people'.

Etym: From the Chinookan name for people of the Clackamas River region: *g-i-łá-q'imaš* or *g-it-łá-q'imaš* 'those of *-q'imaš* (Clackamas River region)' (HNAI 7:544).

łamaɬ [ɬá(ʔ).mʌɬ] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877b:105) 'Klamaths'.

Etym: From the Chinookan noun-stem *-maɬ* 'body of water' (Hymes 116), presumably referring to the Klamaths' lake-dominated homeland: hence, *it-łá-maɬ*, *it-gá-maɬ* 'lake people' (*ła-*, *ga-* third-person possessives) (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]).

łaq [ɬá(ʔ)q, ɬʌ́q; ɬá(ʔ)qw] *Ref:* VH, WB, EJ 'off'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *ƛ̓aqʷ* 'out, take out' (CCT 24, 31, 512, 548), <ʟāq(ᵘ), ʟaq(ᵒ)> 'take off, off; take out' (CT 13.2, 223.9, 229.13, 236.6), <ʟaqᵘ> 'out, take off, take out' (Kathlamet [Hymes 274, 281]: 'process of reaching outside' *vs* <ʟax> 'achieve, reach, be outside'; see **łax̣** 'out, visible').

łas [ɬʌs (~ɬás)] *Ref:* JH 1941, VH, WB, EJ 'they, their; them'.

Etym: Jacobs (1932:41-42) terms the set of CW formal short-form pronouns "basic", deriving **łas** from Chinookan *ɬ-* 'third person [neuter/collective]' plus [a] (leaving terminal [s] unexplained). Sapir's description of Wishram Upper Chinook (Boas 627) suggests that at least some of the short forms could have come directly from Chinookan (see etymology notes for **na** 'I, my', **ya** 'She/he, his/her; her/him'). Note that Clackamas Upper Chinook

speakers were resident at Grand Ronde, while short forms of pronouns are virtually unknown as CW outside of Grand Ronde.

łaska [ɬá(ˀ)s.ḳʌ, ɬʌ́s.ḳʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'they, their, them'.

Etym: From a Lower Chinook independent pronoun: *łáska* <ʟáska> 'it' (neuter/collective) (Boas 626), <tláskɑ> 'they' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [łáskʌ] <łâ·skɑ, łɑskɑ> 'they'.

ława [łá/wá(ˀ), łʌ́.wʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB 'slowly; slow'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *ławá* 'slowly and continuously' (CCT 34, 111), <ʟawā́, ʟā́wa> 'slowly' (Boas 634, CT 146.5). *Cf* Bay Center CW [łʌwá] <łɑwá·> 'slow'.

łaẋ [łá(ˀ)x̣] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB 'emerge; removed'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *łáẋ* 'come out' (CCT 445), <ʟāx> 'appear, become visible' (Boas 633), <ʟax> 'out' (Kathlamet [Hymes 281]: 'achieve, reach, be outside' *vs* <ʟaq> 'process of reaching outside'; see **łaq** 'off').

łaẋani [łá(ˀ).x̣ʌ.nɪ, tłá(ˀ).x̣ʌ.nɪ, łá(ˀ)x̣.nɪ] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'outside'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *łáẋa-ni* <ʟáxa-ni> 'outside' (Kathlamet [Hymes 281, 289]: *łaẋ* <ʟax> 'out' + *-ni* locative), <kᵘʟā́xanī, kᵘʟā́xanē (CT 40.10, 211.15), *łáẋnix*, *łáẋniẋ* (CCT 13, 14, 525, 562) 'outside'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [tłá·x̣ʌnɪ] <tłá·x̣ɑnɪ> 'outside'.

łaẋayam [łá/x̣á(ˀ).yʌm; łá(ˀ).x̣ɑʊ(ʔ)/yá(ˀ)m; łá(ˀ)x̣ʌm] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR, EL 'hello/goodbye; poor, pitiful'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *łá-x̣auyam* (or *t-łá-x̣auyam*?) <ʟā́xauyam> "what excites sympathy", 'poor, pitiful' (literally, 'one's poverty') (Boas 600, 608, CT 38.5). *Cf* Bay Center CW [tłáx̣wʌʔʌyʌm] <tłá·x̣wɑʼɑyɑm> 'how do you do?; poor'.

łik [łɪ́k] *Ref:* EJ, EL 'silly, goofy'.

Etym: Apparently from a Chinookan particle, exact identification uncertain: *cf* <ʟēk!ᵘ> 'to "start" (with pain)' (KT 63.1), <ʟEk!, ʟäk!> 'weak' (Boas 632).

łikʰəmuks [łɪ́.kə.mʊ́ks] *Ref:* JH 1928 'blackberries'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *łá-k'am-ukš* <tlák'amuks> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *iłə́kamukš*, *iłə́kməkš* (CCT 144, Clackamas [mj slip-files]) 'blackberries'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [łɪ́kʌmqs, łʌ́kʌmks] <łɪ́kkɑmɪks> (also mf 17.0185: <łɑ́kkɑmks>) 'blackberries'.

łipʰayt •ʳ *Ref:* <Tlipait> (Demers) 'string, thread, sinew', <Kla´-pite> (Gibbs) 'thread, twine'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *łə́-pait* <ʟE´pa-ît> 'line, rope' (KT 244.1, 249.3), *-pa-it* 'rope' (Boas 601), <tlā´pa-it> 'fish-line' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]).

łiskwis [łɪ́s.ḳwɪs] *Ref:* JH 1928 'mat, carpet'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *´-skʷiš* 'mat bag' (Boas 602: neuter noun), *łí-šgʷiš* <ʟícguic, ʟícgo-ic> 'mat' (CT 88.20, 240.7). *Cf* Bay Center CW [łɪ́skwɪs, tłɪ́skwɪs, łʌ́skwɪs] <łɪ́skwɪs, łɑ́skwɪs> (also mf 18.0185: <tłɪ́skwɪs>) 'mat, tule-mat; cattail'.

łix [łɪ́x/tʰá(ˀ)m] *Ref:* EP (in **łixtʰam** 'woman-chaser': **łix** + "Tom"?).

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *łix* <ʟix·, ʟēx·> 'copulate' (Boas 633, CT 228.10, .14).

łixłix [łɪ́x.łɪx] *Ref:* VH, WB, CR 'itchy; tickling, scratching'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *łáxłəx* 'scratch' (Clackamas [mj 63:51]), <ʟE′xʟEx> 'scratching (noise)' (Boas 153.7).

łiʔil [łí/ʔí(ˀ)l, łɪ′.ʔɪl] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ 'black'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *łí.il* <ʟē′el> (CT 25.11), *łəl* <ʟEl> (KT 44.6), *łál* (CCT 515) 'black'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [łɪ′ʔɪl] <łí’ɪl> 'black'.

łk’up [łk’óp] *Ref:* VH, WB 'squeezed, burst apart; pop it'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *łk’úp*, *ƛk’úp* 'break; cracked' (CCT 87, 144), <ʟk!ōp> 'to squeeze' (Boas 631).

łq’up [łq’ó(ˀ)p; łq’ɔ(ˀ)p; k’ó(ˀ)p] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'cut'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *łq’úp* <łq!up> (Wishram [Sapir in Boas 643]), *ƛq’úp*, *ƛq’ʷáp* (CCT 74, 175), <ʟq!ōp> (Boas 631) 'to cut'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <łk’óp> 'to chop'.

łuk [łók; tłók] *Ref:* WB, EJ, CR 'broken'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *ƛákƛək* <tłáktłək> 'dig' (mj 55:8), *ƛ’áqƛ’aq* 'broken' (CCT 164-165), <ʟEkᵘ> 'to break' (Boas 631), <ʟúkʟuk> 'broken' (CT 48.4).

łun [łú(ˀ)n, łó(ˀ)n] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'three'.

Etym: From a Chinookan cardinal numeral: *łún* (CCT 123), <ʟōn> (Boas 637) 'three'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <łô·n> 'three'.

łxwap [łxwá(ˀ)p; xwá(ˀ)p] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'hole'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *ƛx̣ʷáp*, *ƛxʷáp* 'hole; to dig' (CCT 92, 150, 167, 451, 490), <ʟxoáp> 'to dig' (Boas 631). *Cf* Bay Center CW <łwá·p> 'hole'.

ma [mʌ (~má)] *Ref:* JH 1932, VH, WB, CR 'thou, thy'.

Etym: Jacobs (1932:41-42) terms the set of CW formal short-form pronouns "basic", deriving **ma** from Chinookan *m-* 'second person' plus [a]. Sapir's description of Wishram Upper Chinook (Boas 627) suggests that at least some of the short forms could have come directly from Chinookan (see etymology notes for **na** 'I, my', **ya** 'She/he, his/her; her/him'). Note that Clackamas Upper Chinook speakers were resident at Grand Ronde, while short forms of pronouns are virtually unknown as CW outside of Grand Ronde.

maksti [má(ˀ)ks̪.ṭi; má(ˀ)kwš̪.ṭi] *Ref:* VH, WB 'twice'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle combining a numeral (*mak(ʷ)št* 'two') with the Lower Chinook adverbial suffix *-i*, corresponding to *-ix* in Kathlamet and Upper Chinook: *mákšt-i* <mô´kcti, mâ´kctē> (Boas 667, CT 135.21), *mákʷšd-ix* (CCT 492) 'twice'.

makwst [má(ˀ)kwst; má(ˀ)kst, má(ˀ)kws, má(ˀ)ks] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ 'two'.

Etym: From a Chinookan cardinal number: *mákʷšt* (CCT 100), *makšt* <mākct, mâkct, môkct> (Boas 624, 637, KT 55.10). *Cf* Bay Center CW <má·kw̥st> 'two'.

małini •ʳ *Ref:* <má·łɪnɪ> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0292) 'out in the ocean or on land' (<má·łx̣ʷɑlɪ> 'inland' is given as antonym); <matline> (Demers) 'towards the shore', <matliné> (Lionnet) 'at the water-side; on this side'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *máłni* <mā´ʟnē> 'seaward' (Boas 569). Hymes (266, 289) parses the Kathlamet as *mał* (Hymes's stem-class V(erb)N(oun)P(article), also exemplified in the noun *i-mał*

'body of water, river, bay; Columbia River') + *-ni* (locative, directive).

małxwəli •ʳ *Ref:* <má·ɬxʷɑlɪ> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0292) 'inland'; <mathwelé, mathwélé> (Lionnet) 'in the wood, at large, in the river'; <Malwɬole> (Demers) 'down on the other side'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: <máʟxolē> 'inland' (Boas 648, CT 9.19, 25.6), 'ashore, landward' (CT 217.10, 19; 218.3; 223.14), '(out of the way) at the side (in a house)' (CT 177.21, 267.6); <mā´tlqonē> 'inland' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]). *Cf* Kathlamet *łxíliu* <Lxíliu> 'inland', a particle, and *-młxíliu* <-mLxliu> (as in *a-iá-młxiu* 'landward from it'), a noun (Hymes 268).

manaqi [má⁽ˀ⁾.nʌ.qe; má⁽ˀ⁾.nʌ.k'ɪ, má⁽ˀ⁾.nʌ.ḳe; má⁽ˀ⁾.nə.kə, mʌ́.nə.kə] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, WB, MM, EP, DC 'more than, greater than'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *manaq'í* <manaq!ē', maniq!ä'> (Boas 634, KT 101.5), *mánk* (CCT 17, 23, 568) 'more, too, -er'.

mayka [má⁽ˀ⁾ɪ.ḳʌ~gʌ; má⁽ˀ⁾ɪ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'thou, thy; thee'.

Etym: From the Chinookan independent pronoun *maika*, used to focus attention on a second person singular subject, object, or possessor. *Cf* Bay Center CW [máɪkʌ] <mâ·ykɑ> 'you (singular)'.

mayʔmi [má⁽ˀ⁾ɪʔ.mi] *Ref:* JH 1928 'downriver'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *máiʔimi* <maíʔēmē, maíēmē, mā'ēmē> 'downstream, northward' (Boas 621, CT 13.13, 24.16, 260.2, 260.4). *Cf* Bay Center CW [máɪʔyʌmɪ] <má·y'yɑmɪ> 'way down the river'.

mət'łaxwəs [mə.tɬ'á⁽ˀ⁾.xwəs] *Ref:* EP 'eye-matter'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun based on the stem *-xus~-x̣us* 'eye', with second-person singular possessive *m-*: *cf is-mi-λ̓'auλ̓'auxus* 'your eyes are filled (with eye-matter)' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]).

miłayt [mɪ'/łá⁽ˀ⁾ɪt, mí⁽ˀ⁾.łaɪt; mɪ'.łət, mí⁽ˀ⁾.łət] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932/1941, VH, WB, CR 'to sit, stay, live; to have, possess, wear'.

Etym: From a Chinookan verb; a simple imperative with *m-* (second-person singular) + *-łait* 'to be, to sit' (verbal stem): *máłait* 'sit!' (CCT 32), *máłait* <mE'ʟa-it!> 'you stay!' (CT 15.12-13, 108.14). *Cf* Bay Center CW [mʌ́łaɪt] <mɑ́łłɑyt> 'sit down!'.

miməlust [mí⁽ˀ⁾.mə.lʊst, mɪ'.mə.lʊst; mí⁽ˀ⁾.mə.lʊs, mí⁽ˀ⁾m.lʊs(t) (í·~í')] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ 'to die; dead'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *ł-míməlušt* <ʟ-mē'malust, ʟmē'mElōst, ʟmē'mElōct> 'dead, corpse(s)' (Boas 606, CT 94.7, KT 49.6), *t-miməlúšt-ikš* <tmēmElō'ctikc> 'the ghosts' (Boas 668), *id-mimlúšd-ikš* <idmimlúcdikc> 'dead people' (Clackamas [mj 53:66]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [mɪ'mʌlust] <mɪ'mɑlu·st> 'to die'.

mitxwit [mɪ't.xwɪt, mí⁽ˀ⁾t.xwɪt] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'to stand; to step, stride'.

Etym: From a Chinookan verb; a simple imperative with *m-* (second-person singular) + *-txʷit* 'stand up' (verbal stem: with *-(i)t* suffix?; compare Bay Center CW) (Boas 591, 612): *mátxʷit* <mE'tXuit> '(thou) stand!' (CT 211.21). *Cf* Bay Center CW [mʌ́txwɪ] <mɑ́t.xw̥ɪ> 'stand up'.

msa [m̩.sʌ (~m̩.sá)] *Ref:* WB 'ye, your'.

Etym: Sapir's description of Wishram Upper Chinook (Boas 627) suggests

that at least some of the CW pronoun short forms could have come directly from Chinookan (see etymology notes for **na** 'I, my', **ya** 'She/he, his/her; her/him'): compare Clackamas *máša* 'you (pl)' (short-form based on *m-* 'second person' + *š-* 'plural') (CCT 21). Note that Clackamas Upper Chinook speakers were resident at Grand Ronde, while short forms of pronouns are virtually unknown as CW outside of Grand Ronde.

msayka [m̩.sá(ˀ)ɪ.k̟ʌ~gʌ; m̩.sá(ˀ)ɪ; mɪ.sá(ˀ)ɪ.k̟ʌ~gʌ, mə.sá(ˀ)ɪ.k̟ʌ~gʌ; mɪ.sá(ˀ)ɪ, mə.sá(ˀ)ɪ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, ET 'ye, your, you'.

Etym: From the Chinookan independent pronoun *mšaika*, used to focus attention on a second-person plural subject, object, or possessor. Note that forms with vowels in the first syllable, as well as abbreviated forms, are known also in Chinookan: *máša*ika <mE′caika> (KT 44.8), *máša* (CCT 21). *Cf* Bay Center CW [mʌsáɪkʌ] <mɑssá·ykɑ> 'you (plural)'.

mulak [mú(ˀ).lʌk, mó(ˀ).lʌk] *Ref:* JH 1928, JP 'elk'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *i-múlak* 'elk' (CCT 17, Boas 598). *Cf* Bay Center CW [múlʌk] <mú·lɑk> 'elk'.

na [nʌ (~ná)] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, CR 'I, my'.

Etym: Jacobs (1932:41-42) terms the set of CW formal short-form pronouns "basic", deriving **na** from Chinookan *n-* 'first person' plus [a]. Sapir (Boas 627) records Wishram *na*, *naẋ* 'I' (short-form), which suggests that CW **na** could be directly from Chinookan, or more specifically, from Upper Chinook. Note that Clackamas Upper Chinook speakers were resident at Grand Ronde, while short forms of pronouns are virtually unknown as CW outside of Grand Ronde.

nanamuks •ᴿ *Ref:* <nɑná·mʊkw̥s> (Bay Center CW [Emma Luscier], jph 18.0451), <nɑná·mʊks, nɑnâ·mʊks> (Bay Center CW [Sarah Scarborough, Emma Luscier], jph 18.0873), <Nanamuks> (Demers) 'otter'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *i-nanámuks* 'otter' (Boas 598).

nawitka [ná/wɪ′t.k̟ʌ, ná/wí(ˀ)t.k̟ʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, EP, CR 'indeed, sure enough'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *náwitka* 'indeed!' (Boas 635). *Cf* Bay Center CW [nawɪ′tkʌ, nʌwítkʌ] <nɑ·wɪ′tkɑ, nʌwí·tkɑ> 'yes' ("this is the common word for yes").

nayka [ná(ˀ)ɪ.k̟ʌ~gʌ; ná(ˀ)ɪ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'I, my; me'.

Etym: From the Chinookan independent pronoun *naika*, used to focus special attention on a first-person singular subject, object, or possessor. *Cf* Bay Center CW [nʌ́ɪkʌ] <nɑ́ykɑ> 'I'.

nixwa [nɪ′/xwá(ˀ)] *Ref:* VH, WB, EJ, CR, EP 'let's see!; let's ... , suppose ... , how about ...'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *níxʷa* 'let's, let (me), suppose, do ... , will (you) ...' (CCT 16, 18, 24), <nix̣ua, nɪ′x̣ua> 'please, just try to; well' (Boas 635, 671). *Cf* Bay Center CW [nɪxwʌ́] <nɪxwɑ́, nɪxxwɑ́> 'hither; because'.

nsa [nsʌ (~nsá); ntsʌ; tsʌ, sʌ] *Ref:* VH, WB, CR 'we, our'.

Etym: Jacobs (1932:41-42) terms the set of CW formal short-form pronouns "basic", deriving **nsa** from Chinookan *n-* 'first person' plus a Chinookan plural (*š-*) plus [a]. Sapir's

description of Wishram Upper Chinook (Boas 627) suggests that at least some of the short forms could have come directly from Chinookan (see etymology notes for **na** 'I, my', **ya** 'She/he, his/her; her/him'). Note that Clackamas Upper Chinook speakers were resident at Grand Ronde, while short forms of pronouns are virtually unknown as CW outside of Grand Ronde.

nsayka [n̩.sá(ˈ).ɪ.k̟ʌ~gʌ; n̩.tsá(ˈ).ɪ.k̟ʌ~gʌ; nɪ.sá(ˈ).ɪ.k̟ʌ~gʌ; tsá(ˈ).ɪ.k̟ʌ~gʌ, n̩.tsá(ˈ).ɪ; nɪ.sá(ˈ).ɪ, sá(ˈ).ɪ.k̟ʌ~gʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'we, our, us'.

Etym: From the Chinookan independent pronoun *nšaika*, used to focus attention on a first-person plural (exclusive) subject, object, or possessor. Note that forms with vowels in the first syllable, as well as affricates in the second, are known also in Chinookan: *nčaika* <ntcaika> (Boas 626), *níšaiká* (emphasis form, recorded as <näʹcaiká, nēʹsaiká>; CT 144.19, 145.1, 7), *násaika* <nEʹsaika> (KT 153.8). *Cf* Bay Center CW [nsáɪkʌ] <nsá·ykα> (1 pers pl).

pʰaɬ [pʰá(ˈ)ɬ; p̩á(ˈ)ɬ, pʰá(ˈ)tɬ] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'full'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *páɬ* (CCT 58, 551), <pāʟ> (Boas 609, 631) 'full'.

panax̣ [p̩á(ˈ).nʌx] *Ref:* EP, VM, MM 'lomatium nudicale'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *ɬ-pánax̣* <tlpāʹnaq> "cloveroot" [sic] (probably, miswritten for 'clove root') (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *a-pánaǵnaq* "wild celery" (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]. *Cf* "wild parsnip seeds for cold [sic], *bánax̣*" (in E. Jacobs's Tillamook field notebooks [mj 74:81], copied inaccurately in E. Jacobs 1959:58, 207); the word is obviously not of Tillamook origin, since Tillamook lacks the phoneme *b*.

pasisi [p̩á.sɪ/síˈ, p̩ʌ.síˈ.sɪ; pá.šɪ/síˈ] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, CR 'blanket'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *ɬ-pašíši* <ʟpacíci> (CT 259.20) 'blanket'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [pʌsísɪ] <pαsí·sɪ> 'blanket'.

pʰawch •ʳ *Ref:* <pá''αwɪtʃ> (Bay Center CW, jph 17.0129, 18.0458) 'crabapple', <pawtish [sic]> (Lionnet) 'wild plum trees'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *u-páuč* <-pā´utc> (Boas 601), *ɬ-páuc* <tlpā´uts> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]) 'crabapple'.

pchix̣ [ptšɪʹx̣; ptšʌ́x] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ 'green'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *pčix̣* (Boas 632, Kathlamet [Hymes 273]), *pčəx̣* (CCT 515) 'green, greenish'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [pʌtšə́x(w), pə/tšʌ́x̣~tšə́x] <pαtʃə́x(w̥), pᵃtʃʌ́x̣, pᵃtʃə́x̣> 'green, blue'.

pʰil [pʰɪʹl; p̩ɪʹl] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ 'red'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *ɬpil* <ʟpîl, ʟpäl> (Boas 632, KT 42.14, 126.9), <ɬbé·l> (Clackamas [mj slip-files]) 'red'. Both Boas and Hymes classify the Chinookan form as a particle, that is, as a form uninflected for person or number. Apparently though, enough speakers confused the particle's initial ɬ with the Chinookan person-number prefix ɬ- 'neuter/collective', to yield a CW derivative minus ɬ: CW words derived from Chinookan nouns usually drop unstressed Chinookan number-gender prefixes, while retaining stressed number-gender prefixes. *Cf* Bay Center CW [pʰʌl, pɪl, pel] <pʿál, pɪʹl ("or <é>")> 'red'.

pilpil [p̩ɪʹl.p̩ɪl] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH 'blood'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle related to the source of **pʰil** 'red': *łpə́lpəl* <ʟpE′pEl> 'red' (CT 76.19, 235.10). *Cf* Bay Center CW <pélpel, pɪ′lpɪl> 'blood'.

płəx̣ •ʳ *Ref: płəx̣* (Kinkade 1991:99: given as a CW loan into Upper Chehalis) 'aphrodisaic, Spanish fly, love medicine, love charm, love potion'; <optlaˈ> (Demers) 'liniment'.

Etym: Kinkade (1991:99) explains Upper Chehalis *płəx̣* as "possibly a loan from Chinook, via Chinook Jargon eptlach". The spelling "eptlach" is from Gill's "Chinook" dictionary (1909:24), which has the word as "O. C." ("Old Chinook", that is, Chinookan not CW) meaning 'medicine': *cf i-płə́x̣* 'medicine' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files], Clackamas [mj 69:83]; according to Hymes: "incl[uding] patent medicine, liniment, cough syrup, native herb preparations for internal or external use, preparations used for success in love or fishing, etc."); *-błəx̣* 'poison' (in *aǵámačx̣ ičábłəx̣* 'arrowhead its poison/medicine', name of a plant used to poison arrowheads; Clackamas [mj 53:16]) ([b] augmentative?). On the other hand, the Upper Chehalis form, which lacks *i-*, looks more like a CW form based on a Chinookan noun, since unstressed Chinookan gender markers usually drop away when Chinookan nouns pass into CW. Demers has CW **upłəx̣** <optlaˈ>, which suggests a Lower Chinook feminine noun with feminine *u-*, contrasting with masculine *i-* in Upper Chinook *i-płə́x̣*. While the masculine and feminine forms of some Chinookan nouns indeed do show contrasting meanings, we are aware of no feminine form in the usual Chinookan sources.

pulakʰli [pú(ˑ).lʌk.lɪ, p̣ó(ˑ).lʌk.lɪ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ 'night-time, dark'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun (and/or particle): *ł-pulakə́lə-maxʷ* <ʟpōlakE′lEmax> 'nights' (a noun; KT 85.17); but Boas and Curtis also record uninflected *pulakli* 'dark' (CT 29.8, Chinook [Curtis]), which by Hymes's criteria would make the word also a particle. *Cf ú-pul* (Boas 603), *wá-pul* (CCT 19) 'night'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [púlʌklɪ] <pú·lʌklɪ> 'night'.

pus [p̣ʊs; p̣ṣ] *Ref:* JH, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'if, when, would, for'.

Etym: While usually attributed to English "suppose", this CW word actually has a good Chinookan etymology: Lower Chinook *puš* <pōc, pōs, pus> 'if' (Boas: 'contrary to fact') (Boas 635, 650, CT 44.3, 51.8, 61.3, 71.16, 94.13, 234.16, etc.); corresponding to Kathlamet and Upper Chinook *pu* 'would' (Hymes: 'conditional'; Sapir: 'adverb of potential and conditional significance') (Wishram [Sapir in Boas 676], Kathlamet [Hymes 286], CCT 13, 503; etc.). *Cf* Demers <Pus> 'for, if, when, in order to, that', <Spos> 'if, suppose', Gibbs <Spose> 'if, supposing, provided that, in order that'. In view of the Chinookan evidence, Gibbs's <Spose> and Demers' <Spos> would appear to reflect a folk etymology attributing the word to English.

puypuy [p̣ʊ́ɪ.p̣ʊɪ; pʰíw.pʰiw] *Ref:* JH 1928 'Douglas squirrel'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *i-búibui* <ɪbʊ́ipʊi [sic]> (Clackamas [mj 52:13]) "chipmunk" (described as "all yellow": indicative of the Douglas squirrel, *Tamiasciurus douglasii*). The variant form **pʰiwpʰiw** (from JH 1928) appears to be this Chinookan form influenced

by a degree of onomatopoea, suggestive of the Douglas squirrel's piercing call - a familiar sound in Northwest forests.

p'anaqs [p'á(ˀ).nʌqs] *Ref:* JH 1928 'liver'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *i-p'ánaqš* 'liver' (KT 99.9), *i-łá-p'anakš* 'his liver' (CCT 433).

p'əq [p'ʌ́q; p̰ʌ́.q'ɛ] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, CR 'hit (once), strike a blow'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *p'áq*, *p'áqp'aq* 'slap' (KT 100.12, 116.14).

p'əqp'əq [p'ʌ́q.p'ʌ̀q; p'ʌ́qə.p'ʌqə, p̰ʌ́q'ɛ.p̰ʌ̀q'ɛ] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, CR 'hitting; to fight, box'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *p'áq*, *p'áqp'aq* 'slap' (KT 100.12, 116.14). *Cf* Bay Center CW [pʌqʰpʌq] <pακʿpακ> 'to fistfight'.

p'isx̣as [p'ɪ́s.x̣ʌs] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB 'skunk'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: Kathlamet and Upper Chinook *a-p'ísx̣aš*, *a-p'ísx̣aš* 'skunk' (KT 69.2, CCT 13, 508).

p'ixwati •r *Ref:* <p'ɪ́hwαtɪ> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0325), <Pe-what´-tie> (Gibbs) 'thin'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *p'ix̣ʷati* <p'ēqwatē> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *p'íxʷat* <P!ē´Xoat> (KT 78.11), *p'íxʷadi* (Clackamas [mj slip-files]) 'thin'.

p'u [p'ú(ˀ); p̰ú(ˀ); p̰o.p̰ú(ˀ)] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, EP 'to shoot'.

Etym: Apparently, from the Chinookan particle *pu*, *púpu* <pō, pō´pō> 'blow' (Boas 630, KT 86.12; compare alternate form). Chinookan consonant symbolism may explain the replacement of Chinookan [p] by CW [p']: signaling either a Chinookan diminutive ("a puff"?); or a "foreign" (CW not Chinookan) word. *Cf* Bay Center CW <pô·> 'to shoot'.

qʰa [qʰá(ˀ); qʰá(ˀ)x̣] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932/1941, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'where?; where...'.

Etym: The alternate form **qʰax̣** corresponds to Chinook *qax*, which Boas (Boas 618) classifies as a demonstrative pronoun ('that' in Boas 650, 666: analyzed *q-* [invisibility or past existence] + *-a-* [feminine] + *-x* <x̣> [position near third person]); and to Kathlamet *qax̣* <qax> 'where', which Hymes (284) classifies as an interrogative particle. Compare: *qa* 'where, when' (CT 13.16, 17.10, 128.10, 147.4), *ka* 'where' (CT 23.5), *kax* 'these, that' (CT 38.10, 62.10); *ka*, *qa* 'why, how, what, where' (interrogative of manner, Hymes 276, 283); *qá* 'how, what' (CCT 21, 28), *qáx̣* 'where' (CCT 15). Hymes (298) proposes that *qa* in Kathlamet is 'where (definite)', *qax̣* 'where (indefinite)'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [kʰa(ʔ)] <kʿâ', kʿâ·> 'where?' (note: [k] not [q]). *See* **qʰata** 'how', **qʰənchi** 'when', **kʰa** 'still, while'.

qʰa-iwa [qʰá(ˀ).ʔiwa] *Ref:* JH 1928 'which one?, which way?', VH 'wherever'.

Etym: Refer to **qʰa**, **iwa** (both from Chinookan particles). We find one apparent citation as a Chinookan compound: *qáx̣-iwa* <ḳā´qēwa> 'when' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]; note that Boas in 1890 usually wrote <q>, where his later transcription shows <x> = *x̣*).

qʰata [qʰá(ˀ)t̰ʌ] *Ref:* JH, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'how?; how...'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle. Hymes (282, 286) parses the Kathlamet as *qa* (manner interrogative) + *-ta* (directive) = 'how, what'; *cf qáda* 'how?' (Boas

658), *qáda* 'what?' (CCT 16). In CT 197.25 there is also the phrase **x̣auqał qada** <xā´oqxaʟ qáda> 'cannot anyhow', which matches the CW idiom **x̣awqał qʰata** 'impossible, no way to'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [qʰátʌ] <ĸ'â·tα> 'how?, how's that?'.

qʰex̣chi •ʳ *Ref:* <keɬtsi> (Demers), <keĥtsi, keĥchi> (St. Onge) 'although, even if', <Kes´-chi, Kéh-tsie> (Gibbs: as entered in Chinook-English section) 'notwithstanding, although', <kégh-tchie> (Gibbs: as entered under *Although*, *Notwithstanding* in English-Chinook section).

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: <qē´xtcē> 'without reaching the desired end, endeavoring' (Boas 634, 639). VH gave **k'ax̣chi** 'in vain' as CW, but *kínwa* as Clackamas Upper Chinook for the same meaning (mj 69:19).

qʰənchi [qʰʌ́n.(t)šɪ, qʰán.tšɪ; qʰʌ́n.(t)sɪ, qʰán.(t)sɪ] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'when?, when...; how many/much?, that many/much'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *qánciẋ*, *qáncix* <qánsix, qantsī´X> 'how many?' (CT 24.21, 107.3), *nikšt qánciẋ* <nēkct qánsix> 'never' (Boas 668: Lower Chinook *nikšt* 'not'; *cf* CW **wik-qʰənchi** 'never'); *qanc-ix* 'ever, however, whenever' (Kathlamet [Hymes 284]: *-ix* adverbial suffix); *qánčiẋ* 'how many' (CCT 26). *Cf* Bay Center CW [qʌnsɪ´] <ĸαnsɪ´·> 'how many?', [wʌq-qʰántsɪ] <wαĸĸ'á·ntsɪ> 'never'.

qʰiluq •ʳ *Ref:* <ĸ'ɪllǿ·ĸ'> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0400), <Keluk> (Demers, St. Onge) 'swan'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *i-qilúq* (Boas 598, KT 107.9), *í-ġiluq* (Clackamas [mj slip-files]), *i-ġíluq* (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]) 'swan'.

qʰink'iyam •ʳ *Ref:* <kenkiam> (Demers, St. Onge) 'right(-hand)'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *qinq'iyamá* <qinqɩeamá> 'to the right' (Boas 668), *qink'iam* 'right side' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]).

qisqis [q̣é⁽ˀ⁾s.q̣es] *Ref:* JP 'bluejay'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *-qíšqiš* <-qē´cqēc> (Boas 598), *i-qísqis* <iqē´sqēs> (CT 29.23, 30.5, 60.14), *i-q'ísqis*, *i-q'ísq'is* <iq¡ē´sqēs, iq¡ē´sq¡ēs> (CT 28.16, 30.24, 115.26). *Cf* Bay Center CW [qɪ´sqɪs] <kî·sĸɪs> 'bluejay'.

qʰiwa •ʳ *Ref:* <kiwa> (Demers, St. Onge) 'because'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *qíwa* "demonstrative adverb" (Boas 621), 'therefore, because' (Hymes 284), 'because, since, for that reason' (Wishram [Dyk 135]).

qwet [q̣wɛ́⁽ˀ⁾t] *Ref:* VH 'extent'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *qʷit* <qoä´t> 'thus (far)' (CT 48.6, KT 238.14), <qoē´t> 'high water' (CT 198.23).

qʰwex̣qʰwex̣ [qʰwɛ́⁽ˀ⁾x̣.qʰwɛx̣] *Ref:* JH 1928 'duck'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *u-qʷíẋqʷiẋ*, *u-gʷíẋgʷiẋ* <ōqoē´xqoex, ōgoē´xgoēx> 'female duck', *t-qʷíẋqʷiẋ-ukš* <tqoēxqoē´xukc> 'ducks' (CT 150.2, 150.10, 153.13); *i-ġʷixq̣ʷix̣* 'male duck', *a-ġʷixq̣ʷix̣* 'female duck', *it-ġʷixq̣ʷíẋ-ukš* 'ducks' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [qwéxqwex] <ĸwéxĸwex> 'mallard'.

qʰwəł [qʰwʌ́ł, qʰwʌ́tł; qʰwɛ́ł, qʰwɛ́tł] *Ref:* VH, WB, EJ, CR 'hang up; hanging, hung'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *qʷə́λ̃* '(placed) on' (CCT 30), <qxuʟ, quʟ> 'to hang, hang up, put on

(clothes)' (CT 27.16, 236.23, KT 29.6).

qwinəm [ɡwɪ′.nʌm, ɡwɪ′.nʊm; ɡwʌ́.nəm] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ 'five'.

Etym: From a Chinookan cardinal numeral: *qʷínəm* (Boas 607, 637), *ġʷə́nma* (CCT 28) 'five'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [qʰwʌ́nʌm] <ĸ'wánɑm> 'five'.

q'at [q'á$^{(ˈ)}$t] *Ref:* WB, EP 'to love, feel affection towards'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *q'at* 'to love' (Boas 632), "(be) in a dither about" (CCT 94).

q'ataqʰi •ʳ *Ref:* <ĸ'átɑĸe> (Bay Center CW, jph 17.0318), <Katake> (Demers) 'sucker (fish)'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *t-k'ataqí* (a kind of fish) (Hymes 105), *a-k'adaqi* 'small game fish' (Wasco-Wishram [Fowler and French 1982:12]).

q'atawi [q'á$^{(ˈ)}$.tʌ.wɪ <q'átɑwe> (JH 1928)] *Ref:* JH 1928 'swan'.

Etym: The source is an obscure Chinookan noun: *á-q'aduwi* [singular], *it-ġádwi-yukš* [plural] "vulture[s] - perhaps, or some other one of the large birds" (Clackamas [mj slip-files]); <o-kó-to-we, ek-ú-ta-wa> 'crane' (Chinookan [Gibbs 1863a:11]). Considerable terminological confusion accompanies the identification some of our larger birds in local languages. Of possible relevance: onomatopoeia, resulting in the assignment of different referents to like-seeming forms (for example, the element [q(')waš~s], [k(')waš~s], [ġwaš~s] turns up in Chinookan and Kalapuyan terms translating 'sandhill crane [*Grus canadensis*]', 'great blue heron [*Ardea herodias*]', and 'swan [*Olor* spp]'); confusions in English common nomenclature, compounded by linguists' ignorance of local flora and fauna (a notable example is the term "crane", which properly applies to the sandhill crane, but is used locally with reference to the great blue heron); and the precipitous decline of some bird populations before records were made (for example, while California condors were frequently observed on the lower Columbia in the early nineteenth century, our records from local languages lack any unambiguously identified term for this striking bird).

q'əl [q'ʌ́l] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'hard, difficult; obstinate'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *q'əl* 'strong', *q'əlq'əl* 'strong, hard, too difficult' (Boas 631, KT 63.8). *Cf* Bay Center CW [k'ʌl] <k'ɑl> 'difficult'.

q'isu [q'í$^{(ˈ)}$.sʊ; kʰí$^{(ˈ)}$.sʊ] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH 'apron'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *ł-qíšu* <ʟqē′cō> 'cedar bark' (KT 79.5). Chinookan consonant symbolism may explain the replacement of Chinookan [q] (or [k], as in the alternate form) by CW [q']: signaling either a Chinookan diminutive; or a "foreign" (CW not Chinookan) word. *Cf* Bay Center CW [qʰɪ′sʊ] <ĸ'í'ssʊ> 'apron'.

q'uʔ [q'óʔ, q'úʔ; q'ɔ́ʔ; qʰó$^{(ˈ)}$] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'arrive, reach, get there'.

Etym: A Chinookan verb-stem of similar meaning, but closer in form to WB's alternate form [qʰo], is on record; the CW may go back to a related Chinookan particle: <-kō> 'to go home, to pass' (Boas 662); *cf* <ko> 'arrive, to', cited as Chinookan in Gibbs (1863a:9). While **q'uʔ**, **q'oʔ** are the usual forms from Grand Ronde elder speakers, Harrington records Bay Center CW [qʰoʔ] <ĸ'ó·'> 'to get there'.

q'walelə-q'walelə [q'wá$^{(ˈ)}$.lɛ.lʌ-q'wà.lɛ.lʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928 'to gallop'.

Etym: Apparently from a Chinookan onomatopoeic particle: *ġʷələləl* 'rumbling sound' (e.g., of a wagon on a hard road) (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [q'wʌlʌ́l-q'wʌlʌ́l] <ʞ'wɑlɑ́llʞ'wɑlɑ́ll> 'to gallop'.

q'wan [q'wá$^{(ˈ)}$n] *Ref:* JH 1928 'habituated'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *q'ʷánq'ʷan* <q!oánq!oan> 'glad' (CT 241.5), *k'wan* 'to be in the habit' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). Either identical with, or confused in the sources with **k'wan** •^{r} 'gentle, docile, tame'.

q'welq'wel •^{r} *Ref:* <ʞwelʞwel> (Demers), <'ɪʞ'wé·l'$^{\alpha}$ʞ'wé·l'α> (jph 18.0133 [Emma Luscier]: given as Chinookan) 'owl'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *-qʷélqʷel* <-qoē´lqoēl> (Boas 598), <ičĕ-ḳwél-ḳwel> (Chinook [Curtis]); <ḳwē´lḳwēl> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]). Note that Demers and Harrington both show glottalization of the initial consonants in both syllables, not recorded by Boas. The difference could be due to Chinookan consonant symbolism. While the Harrington citation from Emma Luscier was given as Chinookan (one of Harrington's attempts to get her to re-elicit Chinookan words from Curtis's lists), Mrs. Luscier did not speak Chinookan and remembered mainly Chinookan nouns that she also knew as CW. Hence, it is likely that she knew this word as CW. As CW, we would not expect it to retain Chinookan *i-* (masculine singular), since the latter is unstressed in the Chinookan form. Mrs. Luscier attached *i-* to almost all words she identified as Chinookan.

q'weɬ [q'wɛ́$^{(ˈ)}$ɬ, q'wɛ́$^{(ˈ)}$tɬ; q'wɛ́$^{(ˈ)}$tɬɛ] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB 'tight, snug; to hold on to'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *q'uƛ* <q!uʟ> 'fast (tight)' (Boas 633). *Cf* Bay Center CW [q'wʌtɬ'] <ʞ'wɑ́tɬ'> 'to squeeze', Demers <ʞwotlk> 'stuck, tight, bound'.

q'wəɬ [q'wʌ́ɬ] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'to hit, strike, knock'.

Etym: Attributed by Gibbs (1863:12, 1863a:13) to a Chinookan source, presumably, a particle: <kwult'h> 'to hit'. We fail to find a match in later records of Chinookan available to us. *Cf* Bay Center CW [q'wʌɬ] <ʞ'wɑɬ> 'to hit'.

salal •^{r} *Ref:* <sɑlá·l, sá·lɑl> (Bay Center CW, jph 17.0137, 1202), <Sal-lal´> (Gibbs). *Cf* <sǽləl> (Bay Center "local Eng[lish]", jph 17.0137) 'salal'.

Etym: Gibbs (1863b) cites <kl-kwu-shá-la> and <sal´lal> as Chinookan for 'salal berries'. Later-recorded Chinookan nouns provide no close matches to these forms: *ɬ-gʷánəkun* <tlguā´nekun> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *iɬ-pɬíla*, *iɬ-pɬála* (Clackamas [mj slip-files]), *iɬ-pɬal* (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]) 'salal berries'.

saxali [sá$^{(ˈ)}$.xʌ.lɪ; sá$^{(ˈ)}$x.lɪ] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'above, up; elevated'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *kʷ-šáxal-i* <kᵘcā´xali, kᵘsā´xali> (kᵘ evidently for *ku-* locative [see Hymes 282]; *-i* Lower Chinook adverbial suffix) (CT 17.1, 49.8, 49.9, 205.6); *šáxlata*, *šáxal-ix* (*-ix* Kathlamet and Upper Chinook adverbial suffix) (Boas 648, 672), *šáxlix* (CCT 50, 563) 'above, up'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [sáxʌlɪ, sáhʌlɪ] <sá·xɑlɪ, sá·hɑlɪ> 'way up'.

səqwalala [sʌ́.qwʌ.lʌ.lʌ, sɪ´.qwʌ.lʌ.lʌ] *Ref:* LK (Tualatin: Berman slip-files; Frachtenberg in Gatschet 1877:14,

108) 'gun, rifle'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *šə-qʷalála* <cEqoalála> 'double-barrelled gun' (dual noun) (Boas 602), *šə́-qʷalala* <cE′qoalala> 'bone whistle' (CT 255.17), *siqʷalala* <siḳoalala> 'feather' (i.e., quill?) (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *iš-ǵʷálala* <ic-ġwô′lala> 'gun' (Wishram [Sapir in Boas 642]). *Cf* Gibbs <Suk-wal´-al> 'gun, muskit'.

səx̣ [sʌx̣] *Ref:* JH 1928 'rattling (sound)'.

Etym: From a Chinookan onomatopoeic particle: *šix̣* <cix> [noise of rattles] (Boas 630), *šx̣šx̣šx̣šx̣* [noise of rustling] (mj 63:115). *Cf* Bay Center CW [šʌx̣] <ʃáx̣> '(any) rattle'.

sik'aluks [sɪ.k'á(ˈ).lʊks] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ 'pants, trousers'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *t-iá-sak'al-uks* 'his leggings' (KT 219.2), *t-sak'áluks* <t̄sa-ká-luks> 'leggings' (Kathlamet [Curtis]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [sək'áluks] <sɑk'á·lʊks> 'pants'.

sinamakwst [sɪ′.nʌ.mʌk(w)st; sɪ′.nʌ.mʌks] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'seven'.

Etym: From a Chinookan cardinal numeral: *sínamakšt* <sínamôkct> 'seven' (Boas 637). *Cf* Bay Center CW [sʌnʌmʌ́kwst] <sɑnɑmɑ́kw̥sт> 'seven'.

sitkum [sɪ′t.k̓ʊm] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'part; half'.

Etym: From Chinookan; available examples show both inflected (noun) and uninflected (particle) forms: *n-šítkum* 'I am half', *a-šítkum* 'she is half' (CT 13.24, 27.3); *šítkum* '(at the upper) half' (CT 272.7). *Cf* Bay Center CW <sí′tkʊm> '1/2'.

siyaxus [sɪ.yá(ˈ).xʊs; sɪ.yá(ˈ).xwəs] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB 'eyes; face'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *s-iá-x̣ust*, *š-iá-x̣ušt* (CT 64.26, 275.12, KT 18.4), *is-iá-xus*, *is-iá-x̣us* (CCT 122, 125) 'his eyes, his face'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <sɪyá·hʊst> 'eye'.

skakʰwəl [ská(ˈ).kwəl] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB 'lamprey'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *š-kákʷli* <ckā′kolē, skā′kōli> (Boas 602, Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *iš-gákʷal* (CCT 27, 550, Sapir in Boas 642) 'lamprey'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <skwâ·kwɑ·l> "eel of another species".

spuʔuq [spóʔəq, spóʔʊq] *Ref:* JH 1928 'faded, dusty, grey; ashes, dust'.

Etym: From Chinookan; available examples show both inflected (noun) and uninflected (particle) forms: *šbúq* (CCT 552), *špəq*, *špiq* <cpEq, cpēq> (Boas 609, KT 244.11) 'grey' (a particle); *ł-špuq* <t̄lŝhpŭk> 'ashes' (a noun) (Chinook [Curtis]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [spóʔoqw] <spó"oкw̥> 'grey'.

stixstix [s̓t(y)ɪ′x.s̓t(y)ɪx] *Ref:* JP, EP 'wrinkled'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle also exemplified as a noun: *št'əx* 'bent' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]), *st'áx̣* 'hanging heavily' (CCT 141), *št'áx̣št'əx̣* 'weak' ("all limbered up", that is, flaccid) (a particle; Clackamas [mj 56:17]), *wa-gá-št'əx̣št'əx̣* 'her wrinkles' (a noun; Clackamas [mj 61:75]).

stux [s̓tóx] *Ref:* VH, EP 'untied'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *stux(w)*, *stúxstux* <stux̣, stúx̣stux̣, stuXᵘ, stúXstuX> (Boas 632, KT 14.7, 45.6) 'untie, unwrap'; *sdúx*, *sdúxʷsduxʷ* (CCT 510, 536) 'untied'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <stóhw̥> 'to untie'.

stuxtkin [stóxt.xɪn; stót.kɪn] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ 'eight'.

Etym: From a Chinookan cardinal numeral: *kstúxtkin* <kstóxtkin, kstô´xkin> (Boas 606, 637), <stúht-kin> (Kathlamet [Curtis]) 'eight'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <stóxtkɪn> 'eight'.

suləmix •ʳ *Ref:* <só·lᵒmɪx> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0466), <So-lé-mie> (Gibbs) 'cranberries'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *i-šúləmix* <icō´l̥emiqₓ> 'cranberry' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]); <i-súl-miuh> (Chinook [Curtis]), <i-ŝhúl-lŭ-mih> (Kathlamet [Curtis]) 'cranberries'. *Cf* also the following local Salishan (Lower Chehalis) form recorded by Harrington: <'ɑsó·l'lɑmᵢʃ, 'ɑsô·lɑm'ʃ> (jph 18.0092, 18.0466; second form labelled "Shoalwater Bay" dialect) 'wild cranberry'.

supna [sú⁽ʿ⁾p̣.nʌ, sóp̣.nʌ; sú⁽ʿ⁾p'.na, sú⁽ʿ⁾.p̣ə.nʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB 'to jump'.

Etym: From a Chinookan verb; a simple imperative with *s-* (dual object) + *u-* (directive; sometimes omitted) + *-pna* 'jump' (verbal stem): *sə́-pəna* <sE´pEna> 'jump!' (KT 147.14), *a-ł-s-ú-pəna* <aɹsõ´pEna> 'it jumped up' (CT 9.6), *gačə́supna* 'he jumped', *gagə́subna* 'she leaped' (CCT 440: note augmentative *b* replacing unmarked *p*). *Cf* Bay Center CW [sóp'ʌnʌ] <só·p'ɑnɑ> 'to jump'.

sx̣ilaqʰami •ʳ *Ref:* <sx̣ɪ'lá·kɑmɪ> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0459) 'looking-glass', <Shilakom, shilakompe> (Demers), <She-lok´-um> (Gibbs) 'a looking-glass; glass'.

Etym: Gibbs attributes this word to Chinookan, and indeed, matching Chinookan nouns have been recorded from upriver dialects: *i-sx̣íluqmit* 'window', *iɬ-(t)sx̣´luqmit* 'looking-glass' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]).

shiksh [šɪ'kš; šɪ'ks] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, EJ 'friend; mate'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun also recorded as an address-form: *i-šíkš* 'friend' (noun), *šikš* 'friend!' (address-form) (Boas 601, 611, 612); *i-čí-šikš* <itcî´cîkc> 'my friend' (KT 213.6). *Cf* Bay Center CW [šɪkš] <ʃɪkʃ> 'friend'.

tak'umunaq [ʈá.k'u.mu.naq] *Ref:* VH '100'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun (see **ixt**, *etym*): *i-dá-k'amunaq* (Clackamas [mj 68:97]), *í-k'amunaq* (Boas 600, Wishram [Dyk 138]) '100 (of)'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [ixʷt ták'ʌmʊnʌq] <'í´x̣ẉt tá·k'ɑmʊ·nɑʜ> '100'.

taɬlam [ʈá⁽ʿ⁾ɬ.lam, ʈá⁽ʿ⁾.ɬam] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ '10'.

Etym: From a Lower Chinook noun (see **ixt**, *etym*): *i-tá-łilam* <i-tā´-ɹēlam> '10 of them' (Boas 607); *cf i-tá-łilxam* <itā´ɹēlXam> (KT 26.10), *i-łá-łilxam* (CCT 112, 113) '10 (of)'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [tá⁴ɪlʌm] <tá⁴ɪlɑm> '10'.

taqwəla [ʈá⁽ʿ⁾.q̣wə.lʌ, ʈʌ́.q̣wə.lʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'hazelnuts; nuts'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *tá-qʷla* <tE´qxola> (KT 143.3), *idáqʷla* (Clackamas [mj slip-files]) 'hazelnuts'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [túqwʌlʌ] <tóʜwɑlɑ, tó·ʜwɑlɑ> 'hazel'.

tat'łi [ʈátɬ'ɪ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, EP [dawning realization:] 'so THAT'S .... '

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *taλ'* <taɹ!, daɹ!> 'behold!, look!, see!, lo!' (Boas 636, CT 17, 37.16, 39.5, 41.20, 64.16, 196.17). Terminal **i** in the CW appears to be from the Lower Chinook aderbial suffix *-i*.

taxam [ʈáxʌm] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ 'six'.

Etym: From a Chinookan cardinal

numeral: *táxəm* (Boas 607), *txm* (Wishram [Dyk 137]) 'six'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [tʌ́xʌm] <táxʌm> 'six'.

taʔanɬkʰi [t̪á(ˀ).ʔʌn.ɬkʰɪ; t̪á(ˀ)n.ɬki] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'yesterday; (according to JH 1928, the word can also mean 'tomorrow').

Etym: From a Lower Chinook particle: *táʔanɬki* <tā′ānɪkī> (CT 155.7) 'yesterday'; *cf* Kathlamet *taqə́ɬ* <taqE′ɪ> 'yesterday' (KT 87.14, 88.8: in Lower Chinook, original [q] changes to [ʔ] when followed by a stressed vowel). *Cf* Bay Center CW [tʌ́ʔʌnɬkɪ] <tá′ʌnɬkɪ> 'yesterday'.

təmstiyu •ʳ *Ref:* <Tomsteo> (Demers) 'arrow-wood'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *i-dámštiw* 'serviceberry' (Clackamas [mj slip-files]).

təmtəm [t̪ʌ́m.t̪ʌm~t̪óm.t̪om~t̪ɪ′m.t̪ɪm] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'chest, heart; mind, thought, feelings; character, life, constitution; self; spirit, soul; to think, feel'.

Etym: One of the most culturally pregnant of CW words. Also, one of the few simple (*vs* concantenated) words that seems to have originated purely as CW, albeit the sources reveal it to be based ultimately on a Chinookan onomatopoeic particle: *cf tə̆mm* [noise of birds in flight] (KT 223.15), [noise of feet] (Boas 630); *tumm* [noise of thundering] (Boas KT 160.14), 'thump!' (CT 217.13). *Cf* Bay Center CW [tʌ́mtʌ́m, tʌmtʌ́m] <tə́mtə́m, tʌmtʌ́m> 'heart'.

tətsi [tʌ́.tsɪ] *Ref:* WB 'have to, bound to'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *tə́č′(a)*, *tača* 'although, but, still, nevertheless; behold!, see!, look!' (Boas 636, 672; CT 44.4, 94.1, 129.14, 197.11, 245.23, 260.7; KT 69.6, 171.1, 210.17, 212.17).

tiki [tɪ′.k̟ɪ; tʰɪ′.k̟ɪ; t.qʾɪ~ɛ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'to like, prefer, want, desire; to have to, need to; to show signs or indications of'; *Cf* Demers <tʜeɬ>, St. Onge <tk̓eh̓> 'to like, love, desire'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *tq̓ʾix̣* 'to want, desire, like' (Boas 632, Hymes 273, Clackamas [mj slip-files]). *Cf* Yakama Sahaptin (Beavert and Hargus 2009) **tk̲’i̲x̲** 'stingy with, possessive of'. Note that the original Chinookan form is retained by Demers and St. Onge. *Cf* Bay Center CW [tʌq̓ʾɪ′] <tɑʜʾɪ′·> 'to like, love, desire'.

tʰil [tʰɪ′l] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'tired, weak; tired of'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *təl* <tEll, tEl, täl, tál> (Boas 632, KT 10.7, CCT 31), *til* <til> Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas] 'tired'; *táltəl* <tE′ llt̓Ell, tE′ lt̓El> 'tired all over; weak' (Boas 632, KT 224.4). *Cf* Bay Center CW [tʰel] <tʿell> 'tired, heavy'.

tilixam [t̪ɪ′.lɪ.xʌm; t̪ɪ′l.xʌm, t̪ə́l.xʌm; t̪ɪ′.lɪ.kʌm] *Ref:* JH, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'person, people; relative(s)'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun; according to Boas, one based on the stem √-lx <-lx̣> 'ground, earth' (Boas 601) + *t-* 'plural': hence, *tí-lxəm* <tê′lx·Em, tê′lx̣am> (Boas 612-13, 670: Chinook and Kathlamet), *tílə̆xam* <tĭ′l-lŭ-ham, téleq̣am> (Chinook [Curtis], Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *idálxam* (Wishram [Sapir in Boas 653], CCT 16) 'people'. Compare *í-lxam* <ē′lx̣am> 'town', *ɬ-guɬílxəmk* <ɪgōɪē′lx̣Emk> 'person', *i-lí.i* <ilē′ē> 'land, country', all based on the same stem (Boas 568, 612); compare also Wishram *iɬ-gʷáɬilx* 'a person', WT 118.23, 176.13). *Cf* Bay Center CW [tílə̆hʌm] <télᵃhɑm, tɪ′lᵃhɑm> 'people'.

tintin [t̪ɪ′n.t̪ɪn] *Ref:* JH 1928, JH (Jacobs

1945:277), WB, LK 'bell, music; hour, o'clock'.

Etym: While suggesting English "ding-ding", the immediate source of this word appears to be Chinookan: *tíntin* <täʹntēn> 'bells' (a particle: KT 248.14), *iɬ-díndin* 'bells; the Indian Shaker church', *a-díndin* 'singing' (a noun: Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]; the ringing of bells is an important part of the Indian Shaker church service). *Cf* Bay Center CW <tɪ·ntɪʹn> 'bell'.

tipiʔ [tɪʹ.pɪʔ] *Ref:* JH 1928 'feather'.

Etym: Apparently from a Lower Chinook noun. In Kiksht Upper Chinook 'feather, wing' is *-piq*: *idápiq* 'feathers', *wí-piq* 'a feather' (CCT 374), *it-gá-piq-ba* 'with its wings' (WT 200.7). In Lower Chinook, underlying terminal *q* often changes to [ʔ]: compare <tup-é-e> 'feathers', <tup-a-ekh> 'wings', given as Chinook in Gibbs (1863a:12, 20). *Cf* Bay Center CW [tʌpɪʹʔ] <tɑpɪʹʹ> 'feathers'.

tipsu [tɪʹp.sʊ] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, EP, MM 'grass; hair, hair tufts'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *tə́-pšu* <tEʹpcō, tEʹpsō> (Boas 602, CT 190.17) 'grass' (plural noun), *idípsu* (Clackamas [mj slip-files]) 'weeds, grass'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [tʌpsʊ́] <tɑpsʊ́> 'grass'.

tʰiyaʔwit [tʰi.yá⁽ˀ⁾ʔ.wɪt, tʰyá⁽ˀ⁾ʔ.wɪt; tʰi.yá⁽ˀ⁾ʊ.wət] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'leg, foot'.

Etym: From a Lower Chinook noun: *t-iá-ʔwit* <tiāʔwit> 'his legs'. The original Chinookan stem-form is *-qʷit*, which changes to [ʔit] according to a Lower Chinook phonological rule not shared by Kathlamet and Upper Chinook (Boas 568); *cf* Kathlamet *t-iá-qʷit* <tiāʹqoit> (Boas 568), Clackamas *id-iá-qʷit* (CCT 13) 'his legs'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [tɪyʌ́ʔʌwɪ] <tɪyɑ́ʼɑwɪ> 'foot'.

tʰiʔtʰiʔ •ʳ *Ref:* <tɪʹʹ tɪʹʹ, tɪʹʹ tɪʼ tɪʼ> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0468), <tété> (Lionet, Pinart), <Téh-teh> (Gibbs) 'to trot'.

Etym: Gibbs (1863:25) attributes the word to Clatsop; his Chinook vocabulary (1863a:19) shows <té-te-há-ho> 'to trot'.

tk'up [t.kʼú⁽ˀ⁾p <tq'ó⁽ˀ⁾p [sic]> (JH 1928); kʼú⁽ˀ⁾p] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'white'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *tkʼup* <tk!ōp> 'white' (Boas 632, KT 35.9), *tkʼúp* 'light' (CCT 79). *Cf* Bay Center CW <tʼkʼʊ́⁽ˀ⁾p> 'white'.

tqiɬpa •ʳ *Ref:* <Tkitlipa> (Demers) 'shoes'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: **idmigiɬba** (*id-mi-ǵiɬba*) 'your moccasins' (Wasco Language Program spelling), *id-iá-ǵiƛba* <idyáǵɪtɬbɑ> (Clackamas [mj 53:121]), <de̱ ʹḳēẹtlpɑ> 'moccasins' (<déyaḳētlpa, dáǵɑḳētlpɑ> 'his _, her _') (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas].

tum [tú⁽ˀ⁾m] *Ref:* EP "thump".

Etym: From a Chinookan onomatopoeic particle: *tumm* [noise of thundering] (KT 160.14), 'thump!' (CT 217.13).

tʰutʰu •ʳ *Ref:* <tô·htʊ> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0471) 'to shake' ("e.g. a tree to make apples fall"), <Tó-to> (Gibbs) 'to shake, sift, winnow', <Toto> (Demers, St. Onge) 'winnowing machine/mill'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: Chinook, Kathlamet [túʊtu] <tō´tō> 'shake' (Hymes 1956:275, Boas 628, 629). <h> in the Bay Center form (<tô·htʊ>) could be from an original [x], judging by Gibbs's (1863:26) spelling of the Chinookan source-word: <Tokh-tokh>.

t'alapas [t'á(ˈ).lʌ.p'ʌs~pʌs] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, WB, EJ, CR 'coyote'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *i-t'álapas* <it!ā'lapas> (Boas 598, KT 45.3), *i-t'álap'as* (CCT 517) 'coyote'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [t'álʌp'ás] <t'á·lɑp'á·s> 'coyote'.

t'əmanəwas [t'ə.má(ˈ).nə.wʌs, t'.má(ˈ).nə.wʌs; t'ə.má(ˈ)n.wʌs] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'guardian spirit, healing power'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *i-t'amánwaš* <it'amā'noac> (Boas 1892: "tabooed word", untranslated), <i-ṭa-mán-nu-ŭs> 'spirit creature' (Chinook [Curtis]), <Itamánawas> 'guardian or familiar spirit; magic, luck, fortune; anything supernatural' (Chinook [Gibbs 1863:25]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [t'ʌmánəwʌs] <t'ɑmá·nᵃwɑs> "Indjun [sic] doctor of long ago".

t'ik [t'ɪ́k] *Ref:* CR, EP 'to drip'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *t'uq* 'to drip' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files], Dyk 126]); *cf t'əq* <t!Eq> 'to slap', *táqtəq* <tE'qtEq> 'to clap' (Boas 630).

t'ilimuksh [t'ɪ.lí(ˈ).mʊkš; tɬ'í(ˈ).mʊks (tɬ'~k̓l')] *Ref:* JH (Jacobs 1945:338), WB, EP 'Tillamooks'.

Etym: From Chinookan *t-ʔílim-ukš* 'those of *ni-ʔílim* (Nehalem)' (HNAI 7:566).

t'uxəlq'a [t'ʊ́.xəl.q'ʌ~qʌ] *Ref:* WB 'too, excessive'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *txul* <txul> 'too much' (Boas 634), *txala* <txala> 'too' (KT 23.2); [q'a] in the CW form may be from the Chinookan suffix *-qa*, explained by Hymes (288) as 'purpose of what follows'.

t'wax [t'wá(ˈ)x, t̓wá(ˈ)x; t̓ú/wá(ˈ)x] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'light, bright, fiery; a light'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *tuwáx* <tuwā'x> (Boas 621, KT 18.4) 'light'. Chinookan consonant symbolism may explain the replacement of Chinookan [t] by CW [t']: signaling either a Chinookan diminutive; or a "foreign" (CW not Chinookan) word. *Cf* Bay Center CW [təwáx, tʌwáxʷ] <tᵃwá·x, tɑwwá·xw̓> 'a light; bright'.

tɬakʰətɬak [tɬá(ˈ).kə.tɬak] *Ref:* Eustace Howard (given as Santiam Kalapuya [mj 86:31]) 'grasshopper'. *Cf* Demers <Tlaktlak> 'grasshopper'.

Etym: A similar-looking Chinookan noun is on record from the easternmost Chinookan dialects: *is-ńƛ'axƛ'ax* 'flying grasshopper' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). It seems possible that the CW word is related to the Chinookan particle spelled <ʟā'qʟāq> by Boas (633), translated 'zigzag'.

t'łap [tɬ'á(ˈ)p] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EP 'to find; to give birth to'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *ƛ'ap* <ʟ!ap> (Boas 633, KT 12.11) 'to find'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <tɬ'á·p> 'to find'.

t'łəminxwət [tɬ'ə.mí(ˈ)n.xwət, tɬ'ə.mı́'n.xwət; tɬ'ə.mí(ˈ)n.xʊt, tɬ'ɛ́.mɪn.xʊt] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'to lie, decieve'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *i-ƛ'mínxut* <(i)-ʟ!mē'nxut, ɪʟ!mē'nXut> 'a lie' (Boas 600, KT 52.16). *Cf* Bay Center CW [tɬ'ʌmínʌxwʌt] <tɬ'ɑmî·nɑxwɑt> 'to tell a lie'.

t'łəx [tɬ'ʎx] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'torn, ripped'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *ƛ'əx* <ʟ!E'x> 'split' (Boas 646), *ƛ'áxƛ'əx* <ʟ!E'xʟ!Ex> 'tear' (Boas 631), *ƛ'áxƛ'əx* <tɬ'áxtɬ'əx> 'split' (mj 55:101); *cf*

ƛ̓áqƛ̓aq 'broken' (CCT 164-165). KT (195.4) shows an example of inflection as a noun: *na-ƛ̓áx-pa* <naɮ!E´xpa> 'at (that) hole (literally, "cut")'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [tɬ'ʌx̣] <tɬ'áx̣> 'to tear'.

t'łimin [tɬ'ɪ´/mɪ´⁽⁾n, tɬ'ɛ.mɪn; tɬ'.mʌ́n, tɬ'ʌ́/mɪ´⁽⁾n] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'mashed, soft, mixed; muddy'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *ƛ̓mən*, *ƛ̓mə́nƛ̓mən* <ɮ!mEn, ... ; *also* ɮ!mān, ɮ!män, ɮ!EmE´n> 'to break into small pieces; soft; rub' (Boas 600; KT 32.7, 52.2, 114.4, 121.4; CT 201.6, 229.20); *ƛ̓mə́n*, *ƛ̓mə́nƛ̓mn* <tɬ'mə́ntɬ'mən> 'fine; mash, mashed; soft' (CCT 76, 110, 171, 326, 358, 487; mj 62:98). *Cf* Bay Center CW [tɬ'ʌmʌ́n] <tɬ'ɑmɑ́n> 'to smash'.

t'łit'łi •r *Ref:* <Tlitli> (Demers) 'starling, black bird' [sic].

Etym: From a Chinookan particle also appearing as a noun-stem: *ƛ̓ ƛ̓* <ɮ! ɮ!> 'to titter' (Boas 631 [CT 177.15]), *nƛ̓aƛ̓ayukš*, *anƛ̓aƛ̓ayukš* ("they go [tɬ'a tɬ'a tɬ'a]!") 'blackbird; red-wing blackbird' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]).

t'łunas [tɬ'ú⁽⁾.nʌs, tɬ'ó⁽⁾.nʌs, tɬ'ú/ná⁽⁾s] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ 'maybe, don't know'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *łúnas* <ɮõ´nas> 'maybe, don't know' (Boas 622, 634). *Cf* Bay Center CW <tɬ'u·ná·s> "quien sabe!" (Harrington's translation).

t'łux̣ [tɬ'ú⁽⁾x̣, tɬ'ó̓x̣] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'to fall, drop'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *ƛ̓ux̣* <ɮ!ux, ɮ!õx, ɮ'õx>, *ƛ̓ux* <ɮ!uX> 'come out, fall down, fall out, falling' (CT 40.25, 65.16, 113.21, 201.1, KT 100.12); *cf* ƛ̓áx̣ʷ, ƛ̓ʔáxʷ 'drop, let go' (CCT 90, 91, 107), *łaxʷ* 'to release, let go' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [tɬ'ʊxʷ] <tɬ'ó·xw̓> "to throw a man down when wrestling with him".

tsəqw [tsʌ́qw, tsʊ́qw; tsʌ́q, tsʊ́q; tšʌ́qw] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'water; body of water'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *ł-čuq*, *ł-čuqʷ* <ɮtcuq, (ɮ)-tcuq, ɮtcuqᵉ> (Boas 568, 603, CT 14.7, 25.17), *ł-čúqʷa* <ɮtcúqoa> (KT 25.2), *ił-čə́qʷa* (CCT 36) 'water'. *Cf* Nootka Jargon **cha-ak** 'water' (Clark 2005), from Nootkan *čaʔak* 'water' (Powell 10): evidently, a case of accidentally converging form/meaning. *Cf* Bay Center CW [tsoqw, tsoqʰ] <tsoкw̓, tsóкʿ> 'water'.

tsiltsil [tsɪ´l.tsɪl; tšɪ´l.tšɪl] *Ref:* JH 1928 'stars, buttons'; VH (in **kakwa-tsiltsil** 'button-like [a plant]').

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *í-čəlčəl* <ē´tcEltcEl> 'brass buttons' (Boas 601, 656), *i-dá-cəlcəl* <idátsəl·tsəl> 'their buttons' (Clackamas [mj 69:57]). *Cf* Bay Center CW <tsɪ´ltsɪl> 'button', Demers <tsiltsil> 'button, star'.

tsin •r *Ref:* <Zin> (Demers, St. Onge) 'hummingbird'.

Etym: Apparently from Chinookan; possibly, an onomatapoeic particle related to the noun recorded as *í-cəncən* <-tsEntsEn> (Boas 598), <ē´tsentsen> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]) 'hummingbird'.

tsix •r *Ref:* <tsiĥ> (St. Onge) 'sharp'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *tsəx* 'cause a sharp pain' (Wishram [Dyk 128]).

tsixtsix [tsɪ´x.tsɪx] *Ref:* JH 1928, EP, JP 'diarrhoea'.

Etym: Apparently from a Chinookan particle: *cə́x̣cəx̣* <tsE´xtsEx> 'unwell, hurt, feeling uncomfortable' (Boas 632, CT 67.8); *cf łə-c'ac'a* <ɮE´ts!ats!a, ɮEts!áts!a> 'desire to defecate' (noun), *i-k-ł-ú-c'ac'a* <ikɮõ´ts!ats!a> 'she

defecated' (verb) (KT 124.12, 125.1-2). Possibly, our CW form should show glottalized-[ts'], reflecting an (unattested) Chinookan form for 'diarrhoea': contrast *cəx* 'cause sharp pain' (Wishram [Dyk 128]).

t'səm [ts'ʌ́m~ts'ɪ́m; tš'ʌ́m] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'mark, spot; marked, written; to write'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *c'əm* <ts!Emm> 'variegated (in color)' (Boas 632), *c'ə́m* 'spotted' (CCT 243, 559). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ts'ʌm] <ts'ʌ́m, ts'ʌ́m'> 'spotted'.

t'səx̣ [ts'ʌ́x̣; tš'ʌ́x̣] *Ref:* WB, EJ, EP 'split; to split'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle, though a possible confusion or overlap between the following Chinookan forms and those cited with reference to **c'hux̣** 'chipped, scraped' render the derivation somewhat problematic: *cf c'əx̣, č'əx̣* <ts!Ex, (tc!Ex, tc!ux, tsEx)> 'break with hands; split wood, sinews, roots; to skin a bird; to bark a tree' (Boas 630), *c'ə́xc'əx̣* <ts!E'xts!Ex> 'split' (CT 45.19), <nats!E'x> 'flake of flint' (CT 69.3), *č'ə́x̣* 'break' (CCT 31), *čə́x̣* 'forking' (CCT 399). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ts'ʌx̣] <ʦ'ʌ́x̣> 'to crack'.

t'si [ts'ɪ́, ts'ɪ́ˀ, ts'ɪ́ˀˀ] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ, EP, EL 'sweet'.

Etym: Apparently from a Chinookan particle: *c'i, da c'i c'i* 'sweet' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). The element [ts'i] is recorded also in Lower Chinook and Kathlamet, but as a noun-forming element: *-c'iməns* <'-ts!ēmEn> (Boas 600), *i-iá-c'imam* <iā'ts'ēmam> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *i-c'ác'imam* <its!ā'ts!emôm> (KT 118.8, .12) 'sweet, sweetness'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [ts'ɪ́ˀ] <ts'ɪ́'> 'sweet'.

uk [ˀʊk] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'that, this, the; that which, the ones who'.

Etym: Derived from **ukuk**, which in turn is derived from a Chinookan particle. *Cf* Demers <ok (~ okuk)>, Gibbs <oke (~ O'-koke, O'-kook)>.

ukuk [ˀʊ́ˀˀk̓.ʊk, ˀʊ́k̓.ʊk (k̓~g); ʊ̀g.ʊ́ˀˀk] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'that, this; that one, this one'.

Etym: From a Lower Chinook particle: *úkuk* <ō'kuk> 'there, that' (a demonstrative adverb, according to Boas; Boas 620, 622, CT 30.9, 115.17, 118.17). *Cf* Bay Center CW <ʊ́·kʊk> 'this one', Demers <Okuk, ok> 'this, that, this one, that one'.

ulali [ˀʊ́.lʌ.lɪ, ˀʊ́ˀˀ.lʌ.lɪ, ˀʊ́ˀˀ.lʌ.lɪ] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ 'berries'.

Etym: From a Lower Chinook noun: *łá-lili* <ɮā'lēlē> (CT 100.9), *ú-lili* <ó-li-li> (Chinook [Curtis]) 'salmon-berries (*Rubus spectabilis*)'; *cf á-lili* 'Salmon-berry' (KT 118.4: name of myth character; note Kathlamet feminine singular *a-*, corresponding to Lower Chinook *u-*). *Cf* Bay Center CW [úləli] <'ʊ́·lɑlɪ, ʊ́·lɑlɪ> '(any) berry; salmon-berry'.

ulu [ˀʊ́ˀˀ.lʊ (u/ʊ~o)] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EP 'hungry'.

Etym: From a Lower Chinook noun: *ú-lu* 'hunger' (Boas 600); Kathlamet and Upper Chinook show *wá-lu* (Kathlamet and Lower Chinook feminine singular *wa-~a-*, corresponding to Lower Chinook *u-*). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ʊ́lʊˀ] <'ʊ́·lʊ'> 'hungry'.

ulx̣ayu •ʳ *Ref:* <'ʊ́·l.hɑyʊ> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0452), <Ol´-hy-iu> (Gibbs) 'seal', <oleł-aïo> (Demers: "sea wolf") 'seal'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *-lx̣ayu* <-̄lxaiu> (Boas 599), *ú-lax̣ayu* <ō´leq$_x$aiū> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]) 'seal'.

ulx̣ən •r *Ref:* <ólx̣ən'> (Middle Columbia CW [Joe Peter], jph mf 18.0008), <'ɪ'ʊ́·lx̣ə̃n> (Bay Center CW [Emma Luscier]: given as Chinookan) 'eulachon'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: Chinook <íɬl-hŭn> 'smelts' (Curtis). The CW form points to a Chinookan source with feminine singular *u-*, not (as apparently in Curtis's form) masculine singular *i-*. Silverstein and Moore (in Moulton 1990, 7:12) cite Chinookan *ú-łxan* 'dried eulachon' (original source unidentified), implying that the same noun-stem means 'eulachon' with *i-* and 'dried eulachon' with *u-*. Mrs. Luscier added *i-* to almost every word she gave as Chinookan; in this case, the result is the grammatical absurdity of a 'masculine singular/feminine singular' eulachon. Note also that Mrs. Luscier's form shows [l], as in Joe Peter's CW form, not the [ɬ] Curtis and Silverstein and Moore show in Chinookan.

upq'ənəx̣ •r *Ref:* <'ʊ́·pkʼɑnɑx̣> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0454), <Opkon, opokenał> (Demers), <opkanaɦ̃> (Pinart in Grant 1951:286) 'basket'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *ú-pqunx̣* <ō´pqunx, ō´pqunqˣ> 'small round spruce-root basket' (Boas 603; Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]: <qˣ> for <q> with supscript-<x>); *í-pqunx̣* <ē´pqunx> 'large spruce-root basket' (Boas 603), <óp-ku-nuh̆> 'berry basket' (Chinook [Curtis]). *u-* is feminine singular, *i-* masculine singular; [q'] in the Bay Center CW form may be from a Chinookan diminutive form.

upt'łikʰi •r *Ref:* <Opitliki> (Demers), <opitlk̆eh> (St. Onge), <O´-pitl-kegh> (Gibbs) 'bow'; <epitlekeɦ [sic]> (St. Onge 6) 'arc'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *ú-pλ'iki* <´-pɪ!ikē> 'bow' (Boas 601); *cf* Kathlamet *a-iá-pλ'iki* 'his bow' (Hymes 96).

uptsax̣ [ʔú⁽ˀ⁾p.tsʌx̣ (u~o)] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, CR, JP 'knife'.

Etym: This word matches one of two Chinookan nouns given for 'knife' or 'iron' in Gibbs's *Alphabetical Vocabulary of the Chinook Language* (1863a:11): <ó'pt-sakh>. However, we fail to find a match in later records of Chinookan available to us. *Cf* Bay Center CW [óptsʌx̣, óptsʼʌx̣] <'ʊ́·ptsáx̣, 'ʊ́·ptsʼax̣> 'knife'.

upʰuch [ʔú⁽ˀ⁾.pʰʊtš (u~o); ʔó⁽ˀ⁾.pʊts~ots] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, CR 'buttocks, tail; genitals'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *-puč* 'anus, buttocks' (Boas 601, Hymes 121). According to Hymes, this stem occurs in Kathlamet only with a possessive prefix, as in *i-iá-puč* <iā´pōtc> 'his buttocks' (KT 87.1), *š-ntá-puč* <cîntā´pōtc> 'our two selves' buttocks' (KT 85.7: *š-* dual). Examples from *Chinook Texts* appear to show the same restriction for Chinook, as in *u-iá-puč* <uyā´putc> 'his anus' (CT 114.2), *i-iá-puč* <iā´pōtc> 'his buttocks' (CT 153.3) (note Lower Chinook feminine singular *u-* in the first example, Chinookan masculine singular *i-* in the second). Even the source-form as spelled by Gibbs (1863:19) conforms to this restriction: *u-mí-puč* <obéputsh> 'your ass' (<bé> illustrates a tendency for [m] to vary with [b] in down-river Chinookan dialects). It is therefore something of a mystery that the CW should preserve Lower Chinook *u-*, but no syllable representing a possessive prefix. *Cf* Bay Center CW [ʊ́pʊtš] <'ʊ́·pʊtʃ> "arse".

uskan [ʔʊ́s.k̆ʌn] *Ref:* JH 1928, LK 'cup, dipper, can'.

Etym: From a Lower Chinook noun:

ú-šgan <ō′cgan> 'basket, cup, bucket' (Boas 603, 609); *í-šgan* <ē′cgan> 'cedar' (Boas 603). Note that the meaning of this noun changes according to which gender marker is affixed: Lower Chinook feminine singular *u-* *vs* Chinookan masculine singular *i-* . *Cf* Bay Center CW [ǒskʌn] <’ǒ·skɑn> 'a cup'.

ushkʰələ̣x [ʔó(ˀ)š.x̣ʌ.lʌx̣] *Ref:* JH 1928 'sinew'.

Etym: From a Lower Chinook noun: *ú-škɬəx* <ō′ckɪaX, ō′ckɪX [ɪ printed reversed and upside-down]> (CT 138.18, 139.7), *a-škʷɬə́x̣* (Clackamas [mj slip-files]) 'sinew'. Note Lower Chinook *u-* *vs* Upper Chinook *a-* (~*wa-*), feminine singular. Cf Demers <Ulksaɬ [sic]> 'sinew'.

uyxat [ʔə́ɪ.xʌt, ʔó(ˀ)ɪ.xʌt (x~x̣); ʔə́ɪ.xʊt~xwət, ʔó(ˀ)ɪ.xʊt~xwət (x~x̣)] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'trail, road'.

Etym: From a Lower Chinook noun: *u-íxatk* <uē′x̣atk> 'trail' (Boas 602, 666), *á-ixatk* <ā′eXatk> 'road' (KT 248.5). Note Lower Chinook *u-* *vs* Kathlamet *a-* (~*wa-*), feminine singular. *Cf* Bay Center CW [ʔúɪhʌt] <’ú·yhɑt, ’ôyhɑt> 'trail, road'.

wawa [wá(ˀ).wʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'to talk, say, tell; talk, talking; speech, language'.

Etym: Usually attributed to Nootkan *wawa·* 'to say' (Gibbs 1863:28; *cf* Sapir and Swadesh 1939:257); however, while Clark (2005) lists **wawa** among his Nootka Jargon reconstructions, he finds it "poorly attested" in his sources. The word is just as likely, if not indeed more likely to be of Chinookan origin; in Kathlamet and Upper Chinook, √-wa 'to talk' is recorded as a verb-stem, *-wawa* 'speech, language' as a noun-stem, and *wawa* 'talking' as a particle: *i-č-t-i-x̣á-wa-čk* <itctexáwatck> 'he answered' (KT 180.8: parsed following Hymes 155), *a-wáwa* 'it is said' (KT 20.1), *a-t’úkdi a-wáwa* 'a good talk' (*-t’úkdi* 'good'; Clackamas [mj 53:26]), *wáwa* 'talking' (KT 180.3), *wáwa a-ɬ-q-l-ú-x̣a* <wáwa’aɬqlú·x̣a> 'to talk to (someone)' (Clackamas [mj 53:26]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [wáwʌ] <wá·wɑ> 'language'.

wax̣ [wá(ˀ)x̣] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, EJ, CR 'to spill, pour'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *wax̣* 'to pour out' (Boas 631, Wishram [Sapir in Boas 643]), *wax*, *wax̣* 'pour, spill, scatter' (CCT 52, 90, 178, 305, 405). *Cf* Bay Center CW [wʌx̣] <wá·x̣> 'to spill it out'.

wəx̣t [wʌ́x̣t; wʌ́x̣, wʌ́x] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, CR, EP 'also, too, again'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *wix̣t* 'again, more, also' (Boas 634, CT 9.12, 10.6).

wilamet [wɪ′.lʌ/mɛ́(ˀ)t] *Ref:* David LaChance 'Willamette'.

Etym: wálamt is on record as the name of a former Chinookan village on the west bank of Willamette River near Oregon City. Apparently, this is the original form of the name "Willamette", which every Oregonian knows is supposed to be stressed on the second syllable (the classic mnemonic: "it's Wil-LAM-ette, dammit"). Gatschet, at Grand Ronde in 1877, recorded [wəlámɛ́t] <ŭălámét> as a local English pronunciation of the name. The citation form given here is from Grand Ronde elder David LaChance, who spent his childhood in one of the community's French-speaking households (Zenk 2008:25-26).

xulxul [xʊ́l.xʊl (JH 1928, WB); hú(ˀ)l.hʊl, hʊ́l.hʊl (EJ)] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'mouse, rat; thief'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun:

u-kúlxul 'mouse; thief' (Boas 568, 617), *u-kúləxʷal*, *u-kúləxul* <kōʹl̄eqₓoal, ōkōʹl̄eqₓul> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [húləhʊl] <húˑlᵃhʊl> 'mouse'.

x̣alaqɬ [x̣á⁽ˀ⁾.lʌqɬ, x̣ʌ́.lʌqɬ; há⁽ˀ⁾.lʌx̣~lɔx̣] *Ref:* VH, WB, EJ, CR 'open'.

Etym: From a Chinookan verb-stem given by Hymes as *-aqɬ*, with reflexive *x̣-* and relational *l-*: *-x̣-l-aqɬ*, as in *i-č-i-x̣ə́-l-aqɬ-q* <itcixEʹlaqɹq> 'he (*č-*) opened it (= him, *-i-*)' (KT 143.15: parsed following Hymes 155), *a-č-i-x̣á-l-aqɬ* <atcixāʹlaqɹ> 'he opened it (= him)' (CT 130.11), *ga-č-i-x̣ə́-l-aqɬ* 'he opened it (= him)' (CCT 83). *Cf* Bay Center CW [x̣álʌqɬ] <x̣áˑlɑʞɬ> 'open'.

x̣anɬq'i [x̣ʌ́n.ɬq'ɪ~qɪ] *Ref:* WB 'crooked, bent'.

Etym: This appears to be from a Chinookan verb-stem, but the exact source remains to be identified; the first syllable looks to be from reflexive *x̣-* + relational *n-* (compare **x̣alaqɬ**, *etym*): *cf mix̣ənɬk'áyugu* <mixEnɹk!ā́yōgō> 'you (*m-*) bend it (= him, *i-*)' (CT 107.21), *ix̣ənɬk'áyukta* <ixEnɹk!ā́yukta> 'a crooked one' (CT 107.23). Possibly related to *-ɬk'ik* <-ɹk!ik> 'crooked' (verbal stem, Boas 665). *Cf* Bay Center CW [x̣ʌ́nɬk'i, xʌ́nɬq'i] <x̣ʌ́nɬkʼɪʹ, xʌ́nɬkʼɪ> 'crooked'.

x̣awqaɬ [x̣á⁽ˀ⁾ʊ.qʌɬ~qwʌɬ, x̣á⁽ˀ⁾ʊ.ʌɬ; qʰá⁽ˀ⁾ʊ.qʌɬ~qwʌɬ, qʰá⁽ˀ⁾ʊ.ʌɬ; há⁽ˀ⁾ʊ.wʌɬ, há⁽ˀ⁾.wʌɬ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'unable to, can't'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *x̣áuqaɬ(x̣)* <xāoqxalɹx> (KT 36.1), <qxāʹoxaɹ, xāʹōqxaɹ> (CT 139.26, 165.16) 'cannot'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [háʊqʰaɬ] <háˑwʞˑɑˑɬ> 'can't do it'.

x̣ələl [x̣ʌ́.ləl] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB 'move, shake, quiver'.

Etym: From a Chinookan verb. Judging by Hymes (203), the stem of the source form is √-la ~ √-l 'move vigorously', the initial syllable [x̣ə] in the CW form being explained by reflexive *x̣-*, and the termination [əl] by the continuative suffix *-l* (*~-la*, *-lal*): *i-x̣ə-l-əl* 'he moves', *a-ɬ-x̣ə-l-əl* 'it moved' <ixElEʹl, aɹxElEʹl> (CT 60.9, 220.17), *i-x̣ə-lá-la* <ixElāʹla> 'he moves', *ig-í-x̣ə-la* 'he moved' (KT 203.9, 250.8). *Cf* Bay Center CW [x̣ʌlʌ́l] <x̣ɑllɑ́l> 'to shake into'.

x̣luyma [x̣lú⁽ˀ⁾.wɪ.mʌ, x̣ə.lú⁽ˀ⁾ɪ.mʌ (ú~ó); qʰə.lú⁽ˀ⁾ɪ.mʌ, hə.lú⁽ˀ⁾ɪ.mʌ (ú~ó)] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ 'differently, separately; strange, different, mysterious'.

Etym: From a Lower Chinook inflected stem, classified as verbal by Boas; Hymes classifies the corresponding Kathlamet stem as a pronoun: *-x̣əluima* 'other, different' (Boas 659; see CT 187.25, 261.16); *-x̣aluita* 'different' (Hymes 70; see KT 46.7, 91.11, 156.2). *Cf* Bay Center CW [x̣ʌlúyɪmʌ] <x̣ɑlúˑyɪmɑ> 'different'.

x̣umx̣um [x̣ú⁽ˀ⁾m.x̣ʊm, x̣ʊ́m.x̣ʊm (ʊ ~o)] *Ref:* VH, WB 'brains'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *ɬ-x̣úmx̣um* <tl-qōʹmqōm> 'brain' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *iɬ-gá-x̣umx̣um-ba* 'where her brains (were)' (CCT 436).

x̣wani •ᴿ *Ref:* <Whane> (Demers), <ɪʹʞˑwɑnɪʹʞˑwɑnɪ̋> (jph 18.0139 [Emma Luscier]: given as Chinookan) 'seagull'.

Etym: The citation form here is a reconstruction based on Demers and the following Chinookan forms: *-qʷəníqʷəni* <-qonēʹqonē> (Boas 598), *i-xʷánina* <ikˣoánēna> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]: <kˣ> for <k> with <x> written underneath). While the Harrington citation from Emma Luscier was given as Chinookan (one of Harrington's attempts to get her

to re-elicit Chinookan words from Curtis's lists), Mrs. Luscier did not speak Chinookan and remembered mainly Chinookan nouns that she also knew as CW. Hence, it is possible that she actually knew this word as CW.

ya [yʌ (~yá)] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'she/he, his/her; her/him'.

Etym: Jacobs (1932:41-42) terms the set of CW formal short-form pronouns "basic", deriving **ya** from Chinookan *i-* '[masculine] third person' plus [a]. Sapir (Boas 627) records Wishram *ya, yaχ* 'he' (short-form), which suggests that CW **ya** could be directly from Chinookan, or more specifically, from Upper Chinook. Note that Clackamas Upper Chinook speakers were resident at Grand Ronde, while short forms of pronouns are virtually unknown as CW outside of Grand Ronde.

yaka [yá(ˈ).ḳʌ~gʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 's/he, his/her; him/her'.

Etym: Abbreviated form of the Chinookan independent pronoun *iaχka* (see **yaχka**, *etym*). *Cf* Bay Center CW [yʌkʌ] <yȁkȁ> 'his'.

yakwa [yá/ḳwá(ˈ)] *Ref:* JH, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'here, this way'.

Etym: From a Lower Chinook particle, classified by Boas as a demonstrative adverb: *yákwa* (demonstrative position near speaker; Boas 621); also: <iā′kua, yákwa, iakwá, Iákwá> 'here' (Boas 668, CT 65.21, 65.25, 174.15); iákoa 'there' (CT 235.13). *Cf* Bay Center CW [yʌkwá] <yɑkwâ·> 'here'.

yak'isił •ᴿ *Ref:* <yá·k'ɪsɪł> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0473), <iakesilh̃> (St. Onge) 'sharp', <Iakesilł·> 'sharp, fine, thin' (Demers).

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *-k'isił* <´-(kɩe)sīʟ> 'sharpness' (Boas 599), *i-ia-k'isił* <iyak'isił> 'it is sharp' (from *i-k'isił* 'sharpness') (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]).

yapłqʰaw [yá(ˈ)p.łqʰaʊ] *Ref:* VH (mj 37) [given as CW translation of Molala <Pínmams> 'in-laws through a deceased linking relative'].

Etym: From a Kathlamet or Upper Chinook noun: *łá-płqau* <ʟE′pʟqau> 'widows and widowers' (KT 49.6), *i-płqau* 'he is a widower', *a-płqau* 'she is a widow', *a-iá-płqau* 'his widow' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]); *cf* Lower Chinook *-płʔau* 'a dead brother's wife, a dead husband's brother, a dead father's wife; widow, widow and widower', as in *u-iá-płʔau* <ōyā′pɪʾau> 'his dead brother's wife' (CT 41.17: note that original *q* changes to [ʔ] in the Lower Chinook form).

yaqsu [yá(ˈ)q.so; yá(ˈ)k.sʊ ~so] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, CR 'hair'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *ł-iá-qšu* <ʟiā′qcō> 'his hair' (KT 19.3), *ł-qǎšu* <ʟqE′cō> 'a hair' (KT 136.10, 137.2), *łá-ia-qšu* <ʟā′yaqcō> (CT 61.23, 134.11, 155.1) 'his hair'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [yáqsʊ] <yá·ʜsʊ> 'head hair, any hair'.

yatʰum [yá(ˈ).tʰʊm] *Ref:* VH 'sister-in-law'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *a-gá-tum* <agā′tōm> 'her sister-in-law' (KT 155.9), *a-nčá-tum* 'our sister-in-law' (CCT 642, note 378). [ya] in the CW form is from Chinookan *-iá-* 'his ...'.

yawa [yá/wá(ˈ)] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, CR 'there, that way'; VH (in **yawa-iwa** 'yonder, thither').

Etym: From a Lower Chinook particle, classified by Boas as a demonstrative adverb: Chinook *yáwa* <yaúa> (demonstrative position near person addressed;

Boas 621); also: <iaúa> 'then' (CT 127.3). *Cf* Bay Center CW [yʌwá] <yɑwwá·> 'there'.

yawa-iwa [yʌ.wá(ˈ).ʔɪ.wʌ] *Ref:* VH, WB 'yonder, over there, thither'.

Etym: From **yawa** 'there' + **iwa** '-way' (both from Chinookan particles): refer to **yawa**, **iwa**.

yaχal •ʳ *Ref:* <Iaɬale> (Demers), <Yah´-hul> (Gibbs) 'name'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *i-iá-xaliu*> 'its name' (Hymes 128 [KT 112.4, 112.13]), *i-iá-χal* <ēyā´qɑl> 'his name' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]).

yaχka [yá(ˈ)χ.k̓ʌ] *Ref:* VH, WB, LK, CR 's/he, her/his; her/him' (emphasis form).

Etym: From the Chinookan independent pronoun *iaχka*, used to emphasize or focus attention on a masculine third-person singular subject, object, or possessor. *Cf* Bay Center CW [yáχkʌ] <yâ·χkɑ> 'he'.

yuɬqat [yú(ˈ)ɬ.q̓ʌt] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, CR 'long'.

Etym: From a Lower Chinook inflected stem, classified as verbal by Boas; Hymes classifies the corresponding Kathlamet stem as a noun: *yúɬqat* <iū´ʟqat> 'it is long' (Boas 638, 665: parsed as a verb based on the stem-form *-ɬqat* <o||ʟqat>); *í-ia-ɬqt* <ē´yaʟqt> 'long' (KT 44.11, parsed in Hymes 122 as a noun based on the stem-form *-ɬqt* <-ʟqt>). *Cf* Bay Center CW [yótɬkʌt] <yó·tɬkɑt> 'long'.

yutɬiɬ [yú(ˈ).tɬɪɬ] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'proud, stuck-up; glad, happy'.

Etym: From a Chinookan stem exemplified both as a particle and a noun: *yuλ'l*, *yuλ'* <iūʟ!l, yūʟ!> 'proud, glad' (particle) (Boas 632, CT 63.13, 93.18), *-yuλ'l* 'pride' (noun) (Boas 599), as in *i-łá-yuλ'l* <iʟā´yuʟ!l> 'be bragging' (CT 203.18). *Cf* Bay Center CW [yʊtɬ'] <yó·'tɬ', yó·tɬ'> 'glad, proud', [yótɬ'ʌɬ] <yô·tɬ'ɑɬ> 'to be happy'.

yutskat [yú(ˈ)ts.k̓ʌt] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, ET 'short'.

Etym: From a Lower Chinook inflected stem, classified as verbal by Boas; Hymes classifies the corresponding Kathlamet stem as a noun: *yúcqat* <iū´tsqat> 'short' (Boas 646, 661: parsed as a verb based on the stem-form *-cqat* <o||tsqat>); *k-i-iá-sk'tχaχ* <giā´sk!Etxax> 'short ones' (KT 192.4, parsed in Hymes 127 as a noun based on the stem-form *-sk'tχaχ*). *Cf* Bay Center CW [yótsk'ʌt] <yó·tsk'ɑt> 'short'.

ʔohoʔoho [ʔó.ho.ʔo.ho] *Ref:* JH 1928 'to cough'.

Etym: From an onomatopoeic particle; Chinookan for 'cough' is very similar: <hōhō> (Boas 630), *ʔhá* (CCT 90) 'to cough'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [hóʔhoʔ] <hó'ho'> 'to cough'.

ʔoʔ [ʔóʔ] *Ref:* JH 1928 'to vomit'.

Etym: From an onomatopoeic particle, perhaps related to the Lower Chinook verb-stem *-mʔa* (as in *na-gə́-mʔa(ʔ)a* <nagE´m'aa> 'she vomited', CT 13.6), corresponding to Kathlamet *-mqu* (as in *ig-a-gə́-mqu-q* <igagE´mqôq> 'she vomited', KT 101.3 parsed following Hymes 200; Kathlamet [q] corresponds to Chinook [ʔ]).

ʔushʔush [ʔú(ˈ)š.ʔoš, ʔóš.ʔoš; ʔóš] *Ref:* VH, EP, JP 'to sleep'.

Etym: The alternate form **ʔush** matches a Chinookan verbal particle used in baby-talk: <Ush> 'sleep' (as in *uš i-m-χ-u-χ* <Ush emxux> 'you go to sleep') (Wasco Language Program spellings from Spilyay Tymoo, official newspaper of the Warm Springs community, April 20, 2000).

VH attributed the word to Molala (mj 51:8-9; see text 9), but this surmise is not confirmed by available records of that language.

2 From local Salishan

ayəxwəl •r *Ref:* <'ɑyá'.hwál'> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0493), <Aïal·wol> (Demers) 'to borrow'.

Etym: Gibbs attributes the word to local Salishan ("Chihalis").

chich [tšɪ′tš; tšʌtš] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, EJ, CR 'grandmother'.

Etym: According to Kinkade and Powell (2005), Lower Chehalis Salishan *číča* 'grandmother' is the source. Emma Luscier, Harrington's principal Bay Center source, insisted that the proper Lower Chehalis form has only one syllable - as illustrated by Lower Chehalis [ntši′tš] <ntʃɪ′tʃ> 'my grandmother' - the two-syllable form [tšɪtšʌ] <tʃɪtʃɑ̀> being CW (jph 18.0374). Demers' dictionary spells the word <chits>, Gibbs's <Chitsh>.

chinuk •r *Ref:* <Chinook> (W. C. McKay 1892).

Etym: According to Boas (563), this name goes back to *c'inúk* <Ts!inúk>, originally a Lower Chehalis name for the Chinook tribe, whose original homeland was on the north bank of the Columbia River near its mouth. *Cf činúkʷ* <tʃɪnnó(·)kw̥> (Lower Chehalis [jph 18.0189]) 'Chinook (people)'; *čanúkʷ*, *čənúkʷ* 'Chinook (people)', *čanúkʷq'* 'Chinookan languages; CW' (from √čanúkʷ 'Chinook' + =q' 'language' [variant of =aq', a lexical suffix]), *sčanúkʷ-qàʔ* 'Columbia River' (from √čanúkʷ 'Chinook' + √qá·ʔ 'water, river'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]).

chup [tšú(·)p] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ, CR 'grandfather'.

Etym: Gibbs attributes the word to local Salishan ("Chihalis", that is, Lower Chehalis). Emma Luscier, Harrington's principal Bay Center source, gave Lower Chehalis *nčúp'* <ntʃʊ́·p'> as 'my (paternal or maternal) grandfather' (jph 18.0498); but also, Lower Chehalis [ntsʌʔmíʔts'] <ntsɑ'mɪ''ʇs'> 'my grandfather' (compare Lower Chehalis *míʔa* 'grandfather' [Snow]), which she contrasted with CW [tšup'] <tʃú·p'> (jph 18.0374). Kinkade and Powell (2005) note resemblance to Upper Chehalis *čup'a* 'grandfather'.

iləp [ʔí(·).ləp] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, CR 'first; ahead'.

Etym: From local Salishan: *ʔilp* (from √ʔiláp-) 'first, in front' (Cowlitz [Kinkade]). *Cf* Bay Center CW <'ɪ́·lp, 'í·lp> 'first'.

kʰanish [kʰá(·).nɪš~nɪs] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:58), Eustace Howard (mj 47:7) 'whale'.

Etym: Although recorded as Kalapuyan, this word is of ultimate Salishan origin, and closely matches the regional CW word for 'whale' spelled <Kwáh-nice> in Gibbs's dictionary: *cf* [qʰʌnís] <ʀʿɑnɪ′·ʂ> 'whale' (Salmon River Tillamook [Harrington 1942:n.p.]) .

kʰwaɬ [kwá(·)ɬ] *Ref:* WB, EJ, EP 'aunt'.

Etym: From local Salishan: *kʷaɬ* 'aunt' (Lower Chehalis [Kinkade and Powell 2005]), *kʷaɬ* (from √kʷə́ɬuʔ-) 'aunt (mother's or father's sister)' (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]). *Cf* Bay Center CW <kwá·ɬ> 'aunt'.

kʰwiʔim [kʰwɪ′/ʔí(·)m] *Ref:* VH, EJ, CR, EL 'grandchild'.

Etym: According to Boas (1892), the source is "Chihalish" (Lower Chehalis Salishan). However, the word does not appear in Kinkade and Powell's (2005) list of CW words

from Lower Chehalis, nor has the word been recorded in Cowlitz or Upper Chehalis Salishan. *Cf* Lower Columbia CW (Boas 1892) <kōím> 'grandchild'.

k'ak'aʔ [k'á(ˑ).k'aʔ] *Ref:* JH 1928 'crow'.

Etym: From a local Salishan noun: *s-k'á·k'aʔ* (from √k'á·k'aʔ-; Cowlitz [Kinkade]), √k'a·- (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]) 'crow'.

k'winin [k'wɪ'.nɪn] *Ref:* VH, WB, EJ 'to count, enumerate'.

Etym: From local Salishan: *k'ʷə́n-n* (transitive: from √k'ʷə́na- 'count'; Cowlitz [Kinkade]), *k'ʷan-ə́n* (transitive: from √k'ʷə́n- 'count'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [q'wʌnʌ́n] <ʮwɑnnáⁿ> 'to count'.

k'wishən [k'wí.šən, k'wɛ́.šən; k'wʌ́.šən] *Ref:* CR, EP 'to toast (food)'.

Etym: Probably from local Salishan, although we find no record in the usual local sources of a form suggesting it. But note the following forms from Salishan languages to the north: Lushootseed *k'ʷása-d* 'she roasted them', *k'ʷás-əd* 'heat it up!; barbecue it' (from √k'ʷas(a)) (Bates, Hess, Hilbert 1994:127); Saanich *sk'wesəŋ* 'toast (something)' (Montler 1991:82).

łak'wən [ɬá(ˑ).k̓wʌn] *Ref:* JH 1928 'to wipe'.

Etym: From local Salishan: *łak'ʷ* 'wipe' (Lower Chehalis [Snow]); the CW form is presumably derived from a Salishan form with the transitive suffix *-n*. *Cf* Bay Center CW [ɬʌ́k'wʌn, łáq'wʌn] <łʌ́kk'wɑn, łá·ʮwɑn> 'wipe it off!; to wipe (dishes or anything)'.

łaq'ał [łʌ́.q'ʌł] *Ref:* JH 1928 'flat, wide'.

Etym: From local Salishan: *łáq'-ł* (intransitive: from √łəq'- 'wide'; Cowlitz [Kinkade], Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [łʌ́q'ʌł] <łʌ́ʮʮ'ɑł> 'wide'.

łək'wanu •ʳ *Ref:* <tlekwano> (Demers) 'earring'.

Etym: From local Salishan: *łək'ʷə́n'* 'earring', *łək'ʷə́ʔn'uʔ* 'earrings' (Lower Chehalis [Snow]); √łə́k'ʷ- 'strike, peck', *=an'* 'ear' [lexical suffix] (Cowlitz [Kinkade]).

łiqaya [łɪ.q̈á(ˑ).yʌ] *Ref:* EJ 'snail'.

Etym: Apparently from local Salishan, though not recorded as such in the usual sources: *cf* √łiq'i- (stem-form: Cowlitz [Kinkade], Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]) 'slide, slip'. Kinkade also records a lexical suffix, *=ayuʔ*, used to form names of animals in both languages (as in Cowlitz *síkʼl=ayuʔ* 'snake'). Evidently, the CW goes back to an unrecorded local Salishan noun referring to an animal that moves by slipping/sliding.

maq' [má(ˑ)q̈, má(ˑ)q'] *Ref:* CR 'gulp down'.

Etym: The source appears to be a local Salishan stem-form, possibly borrowed into Chinookan as a particle (*cf* **mək^{h}mək**, *etym*): √məq'ʷ- (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]), √məq'ʷa- (Cowlitz [Kinkade]) 'swallow'.

mək^{h}mək [mʌ́k.mʌk, mʌ́.kə.mʌk; má(ˑ)q̈.maq̈] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, CR 'to eat; food'.

Etym: The source appears to be a Salishan verb, possibly borrowed into Chinookan as a particle: √mákʷ- 'put into one's mouth' (Cowlitz [Kinkade]), √mákʷa- 'put into a person's mouth, taste' (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]); *máq'ʷməq'ʷ-t-n* (transitive: from √məq'ʷ-) 'swallow repeatedly' (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]). Compare the alternate CW form **maq'maq'** and the Wasco-Wishram verbal particle

mágmaq 'gulping down' (Hymes slip-files). *Cf* Bay Center CW [mákʌmʌk] <má·kɑmɑk> 'to eat'.

məqʰəsən •ʳ *Ref:* <Mokison nos> (Demers) 'jib boom'; <makison> (Lionnet 13), <makissōn> (Pinart in Grant 1951:283) 'chin'.

Etym: The historical spellings suggest local Salishan for 'nose': *máqsn* (√məqsə́n-; Cowlitz [Kinkade], Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]), *məqs* (Lower Chehalis [Snow]) 'nose'. On the other hand, Chinookan for 'chin' may have been similar in form: <ō-meq[..]in> 'chin', <ōkúmeqa[..]in> 'my chin', <ōbē´beqa[..]in [b~m]> 'thy chin' (Clatsop [Hymes à la Boas]: marginally legible); *cf id-máqšu* <id-mÉqco> 'face-hair' (Wishram [Sapir in Boas 640]), *a-ia-mlqʷtan* 'his cheek (human or salmon)', *id-mlqʷtan-kš* 'cheeks' (Wasco-Wishram [Fowler and French 1982:21]), <ʟgā´mokuē> 'my flesh under chin' (CT 149.14), <-mō´kuē> 'throat' (Boas 601).

musum [mú(ˈ).sʊm] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, CR 'to sleep'.

Etym: From a local Salishan verb with "middle voice" suffix *-m*: *mús-m* (from √músa-; Cowlitz [Kinkade]), *m'ús-m* (from √m'ús-; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]), [mú·səm] (Lower Chehalis [Snow]) 'sleep, asleep'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <mú·səm> 'to sleep'.

nuch •ʳ *Ref:* <nṓ·wtʃ> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0451) 'way out' (in the water: opposite of on shore); <Nau´-its> (Gibbs) 'off shore, on the stream; sea-beach'.

Etym: Derivation obscure, but likely to be from local Salishan. Citing Gibbs's spelling, Kinkade and Powell (2005) call attention to the Upper Chehalis element √náwa- 'old, big', recorded in a number of Upper Chehalis place-names (Kinkade). With an appropriate lexical suffix (Kinkade and Powell speculate, one derived from Proto-Salish *=*ucin* 'mouth, edge'), a related element in some local Salishan language (most likely Lower Chehalis) could have given rise to such a CW form. Other local Salishan elements also seem suggestive: for example, the Upper Chehalis element √núw- 'bottom, end' and the Upper Chehalis lexical suffix =*či* 'water, river' (Kinkade).

palaks [p̪á(ˈ).lʌks] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB 'penis'.

Etym: A word of identical meaning but imperfectly matching form has been recorded as local Salishan: *s-pálq*, *s-pəláyqa* (from √pálq-) 'penis' (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]); *cf* also √pəl'ákʷ- 'pierce' (Cowlitz [Kinkade]).

p'iɬiɬ [pʼɪˈ.ɬɪɬ; pʰɪˈ.ɬɪɬ] *Ref:* WB, EL, EP 'thick; insensitive'.

Etym: The source appears to be local Salishan, although the derivation is problematic. Kinkade's Upper Chehalis dictionary shows *pəɬ-ɬ* (from √pə́ɬ-) 'thick', but *p'il-ɬ* (from √p'il-) 'very thin'. In Bay Center CW, **p'ixwati** •ʳ (a Chinookan derived word) is 'thin', while [pʌ́ɬɪɬ] <pʌ́ɬɪɬ, pʌ́ɬəɬ> (*cf* the Upper Chehalis form above) is 'thick'. The form **p'iɬiɬ** is cited from WB (*vs* the alternate form **pʰiɬiɬ**, from EP), and could have been influenced by Chinookan consonant symbolism from his Clackamas family circle; it is also just possible that his form was influenced by a Molala word for 'skin', given by VH (a Clackamas-Molala member of the same family circle) as [pɪˈɬ] <Píɬ> (mj 37). *Cf* Bay Center CW [pʌ́ɬɪɬ, pʌ́ɬəɬ] <pʌ́ɬɪɬ, pʌ́ɬəɬ> 'thick'.

p'is •ʳ *Ref:* <Ppes> (Demers) 'soul, breath, life' (<pp> evidently for [p']).

Etym: Evidently from local Salishan: *s-p'ís* 'soul' (Lower Chehalis [Kinkade 1991:103]).

p'iʔns [p'ɪ́ʔ.nəs, p̃í⁽ʲ⁾ns; p'ɪ́n.šˀɪs] *Ref:* VH, CR, EP 'bake in ashes'.

Etym: Apparently from local Salishan: *cf* Cowlitz √p'ən'c-, occurring in an incompletely analyzed expression cited by Kinkade (*ʔacp'ən'c tani tit qáwm'* 'prepared camas': *qáwm'* 'camas'); *cf* (?) Upper Chehalis *p'ə́n=stq* 'by the fire' (from √p'ə́n- 'near, beside'; Kinkade). *Cf* Bay Center CW [p'ʌnʔs] <p'ɑn's> 'to roast'.

p'uxən [p'ú⁽ʲ⁾.xən, p'ó⁽ʲ⁾.xən; p'ú⁽ʲ⁾.xwən; pʰú⁽ʲ⁾.xwən, pʰó⁽ʲ⁾.xwən] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EP 'to blow; swollen'.

Etym: From local Salishan: *púxʷ-n* (transitive: from √púxʷi- 'blow': *cf* alternate forms) (Upper Chehalis, Cowlitz [Kinkade]). *Cf* Bay Center CW <pó·hwən> 'to blow out'.

p'uʔ [p'ʊ́ʔ, p'óʔ] *Ref:* WB 'fart'.

Etym: From local Salishan: √p'óʔ (Cowlitz [Kinkade]), *p'ó·ʔ*, *pó·ʔ* (from √pó·ʔ-; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]) 'fart'.

qʰawaq •ʳ *Ref:* <ʀáw'wɑʀ> (Bay Center CW [Emma Luscier], jph 18.0398), <Kawak> (Lionnet, St. Onge) 'to fly'.

Etym: Lower Chehalis for 'to fly' is the same, as noted by Emma Luscier (reference above) and as recorded elsewhere: *qáw'əq* 'to fly' (Snow). However, no obviously related forms are noted from other local Salishan languages, and Kinkade and Powell (2005) do not include this item in their list of CW words with Salishan etymologies.

q'aləp •ʳ *Ref:* <ʀ'ɑllʊ́p> (Bay Center CW [Emma Luscier], jph 18.0260) 'deep'.

Etym: Mrs. Luscier also gives *q'lə́p* <ʀ'lə́p> as Lower Chehalis for 'deep'. The Salishan etymology thereby implied for the CW word is problematic, however; Kinkade does not show clear cognates of Lower Chehalis *q'lə́p* in either Upper Chehalis or Cowlitz. *Cf* Demers <Tlep> 'to sink', <Tlip, tlep> 'deep, abrupt', <ʀlipsan> 'sunset', Gibbs <Klip> 'deep, sunken'. With reference to Gibbs's spelling, Kinkade and Powell (2005) cite Local Salishan *ƛ'áp* 'deep', which we associate with **t'łip** 'go in, sink'. Gibbs and the other compilers of English-orthography "Chinook" dictionaries used <kl> to spell a number of sounds that are clearly distinct from an indigenous point of view, notably [tł'], [tɬ], and [ɬ]; [q'l] would also be so written. Note that the forms cited from Demers all show <tl>, except <ʀl> in one instance, the latter evidently meant to suggest the glottalized affricate [tł'] (*ƛ'*) (compare CW **t'łip-san** 'sunset'). Two words of originally different form but similar meaning appear to be at issue here - conflation of meaning in some cases leading to confusions of form.

q'ayax̣ [q'á⁽ʲ⁾.yʌx] *Ref:* JH 1928 'guts, entrails'.

Etym: From local Salishan: *q'áyx̣* (from √q'əyáx̣-; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]), *q'íyx̣* (from √q'iyáx̣-; Cowlitz [Kinkade]) 'guts, intestines'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [q'ʌ́ɪʔyʌx̣] <ʀ'áy'yɑx̣> 'guts'.

q'eyt' •ʳ *Ref:* <ʀaït> (Demers) 'fishing-line'.

Etym: From local Salishan: *q'ét'* 'fish-line, fish-hook' (from √q'it'- 'go fishing'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]).

q'əlax̣ [q'ʌ́/lá⁽ʲ⁾x̣] *Ref:* JH 1928, LK (Tualatin: Berman slip-files), JH (Jacobs 1945:279, 325), EJ 'fence, fence rails; corral'.

Etym: From local Salishan (specifically, Lower Chehalis): *q'əláx̣* (Lower Chehalis [Czaykowska-Higgins 2003]), √q'əláx̣an' (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]), *q'əláx̣n* (from √q'əláx̣an-; Cowlitz [Kinkade]) 'fence'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [q'ʌláx̣, k'ʌláx̣] <ʁ'ɑlá·x̣, k'ɑllá·x̣> 'fence'.

q'oka [q'ɔ́⁽ˀ⁾.k̟ʌ; q̟ɔ́⁽ˀ⁾.k̟ʌ] *Ref:* EP, MM 'to choke'.

Etym: The source appears to be a local Salishan stem-form, possibly borrowed into Chinookan as a particle: √qə́qa- (Cowlitz [Kinkade]), √qə́q- (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]) 'choke, stick in the throat'.

q'wəlan [q'wʌ́/lá⁽ˀ⁾n] *Ref:* JH, WB, EJ, CR 'ear; hear'.

Etym: From local Salishan: *qʷ'əlán'* 'ear' (Lower Chehalis [Snow]), *qʷ'alán'* (from √q'ʷal- + =an' [variant of =an'i-, lexical suffix referring to ears]; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]), *q'ʷalanʔ* (from √q'ʷalaníʔ-) 'ear' (Cowlitz [Kinkade]); √k'ʷálan- 'hear about' (Upper Chehalis, Cowlitz [Kinkade]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [q'wʌlán] <ʁ'wɑllá·n'> 'ear'.

sic'hum [sɪ́.tš'ʊm] *Ref:* JH 1928 'to swim'.

Etym: From a local Salishan verb with "middle voice" suffiix *-m*: *sač'ə́m* (Lower Chehalis [Kinkade and Powell 2005]), *sač'-ə́m* (from √səč'-; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]) 'swim'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [šitš'ʌ́m] <ʃɪtʃ'ə́m'> 'to swim'.

skaləmən •ʳ *Ref:* <Skalemin> (Demers) 'sea-otter'.

Etym: From a local Salishan noun: *s-kalmn* (from √kalmn-) 'river otter' (Cowlitz [Kinkade]).

skwich [skwɪ́tš, skwɪ́ts] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB 'vagina'.

Etym: From a local Salishan noun: *cf s-kʷə́č* (from √kʷə́č-) 'vagina [vulgar form]' (Kinkade).

sləhal [slʌ.há⁽ˀ⁾l] *Ref:* ET 'bone game'.

Etym: From a Salishan noun: *sləhál* (from √ləhál) 'bone game' (Lushootseed [Bates, Hess, Hilbert]). Harrington's principal Bay Center informant, Emma Luscier, gave 1) [ɬʌkʊm] <'ɪ''ɬɑkʊm'> as CW, [slʌhál] <slɑhá·l'> as Lower Chehalis Salishan; but also, 2) <slɑhá·l> as CW, [ɪ'ʔɪɬʌkʊm] <'ɪ''ɪɬɑkʊ̀m'> as Lower Chehalis. Both words are in regional CW as 'bone game'; **sləhal** shows the Salishan nominal prefix *s-*, while **iłukuma** shows the Chinookan masculine singular prefix *i-*.

smit'aq's •ʳ *Ref:* <smɪt'á·ʁ's> "locally called quóhog [sic]" (Bay Center CW [Emma Luscier], jph 18.0465); <Smet´-ocks> "the large clam (Lutraria)" (Gibbs: a word "used only at the mouth of the Columbia river").

Etym: Emma Luscier, Harrington's main Bay Center source, observed that the Lower Chehalis term is identical, agreeing with Gibbs's information that the CW is from a "Chihalis" word. *s-* suggests a Salishan nominal prefix; beyond that, however, recorded Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz terms for shellfish species offer no obvious matches.

shwiqʰiq [šwɪ.qʰé⁽ˀ⁾q; šwʌ.kʰé⁽ˀ⁾k, šwʌ.kʰá⁽ˀ⁾ɪk] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ, JP 'frog'.

Etym: From a local Salishan noun: *swaq'íq'* (Lower Chehalis [Kinkade and Powell 2005]), *s-wəq'íq'* (from √wəq'íq'-) Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]), *šwaq'íq'* (from √waq'íq'-; Cowlitz [Kinkade]) 'frog'.

tatis [t̟ʌ.t̟í⁽ˀ⁾s; tə́/tí⁽ˀ⁾s] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'flower; pretty thing'.

Etym: A word of matching form/meaning has been recorded as Tillamook Salishan: *dadís*, *daʔdís* (diminutive of √dís 'blossom, flower') 'blossom, bloom' (Thompson and Thompson). Assuming that another local Salishan source is unlikely, this is one of the few unambiguous examples of a Tillamook-derived word in Grand Ronde community CW.

tʰəqsin [tʰʌ́q.sɪn] *Ref:* JH 1928 'to follow, pursue'.

Etym: Apparently from a local Salishan form with the transitive suffix *-n*. *Cf* Lower Columbia CW [tə́ksʔn] <tE´k·s'En> 'to pursue' (Boas 1892).

t'amulch [t'á/mú(ˀ)ltš; t'ə.mə́lš] *Ref:* VH, WB, LK 'barrel, tub'.

Etym: From local Salishan: *t'am'úl'əčt'* 'barrel' (Lower Chehalis [Kinkade and Powell 2005]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [t'ʌmə́ʔʊlʌtš] <t'αmə́'ʊlαtʃ> 'bucket'.

t'anəm •ʳ *Ref:* <t'á·''ɑnαm> (Bay Center CW), <Táh-nim> (Gibbs) 'to measure', <tanim> (St. Onge) 'a measure'.

Etym: From local Salishan: *t'án-m* ("middle-voice": from √t'ánimi- 'measure'), *t'ánm* 'a line' (also listed under √t'ánimi; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]); also note: Lower Chehalis <t'á''αnɪm> 'clock' (jph 18.0354), <t'án'nɪ·m'> 'moon' (jph 17.0093), *t'ən'ím'* 'moon' (Snow).

t'aqʰwin [t'á(ˀ).qwɪn] *Ref:* JH 1928 'to lick'.

Etym: From local Salishan: *t'a·qʷ* 'lick' (Lower Chehalis [Snow]); *t'áqʷ-n* (transitive: from √t'áqʷa- 'lick'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade], Cowlitz [Kinkade]).

t'əpshin •ʳ *Ref:* <t'ápʃɪn> (Bay Center CW) 'to patch (e.g., a canoe or clothes)', <Tapshin> (St. Onge) 'a patch', <Tup´-shin, Tip´-sin> (Gibbs) 'a needle'.

Etym: Evidently from local Salishan, though available comparisons leave the exact derivation uncertain: *t'álp-š-n* 'patch it' (transitive: from √t'ələ́p- 'put around, put on, hook on'; Upper Chehalis, Cowlitz [Kinkade]); *t'áč'-n* (transitive: from √t'áč'i- 'sew'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]).

t'uʔan [t'ú(ˀ).ʔʌn; t'ú(ˀ)ʔ.wʌn] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB 'to have, keep'.

Etym: From local Salishan: *t'óʔ-n* (transitive: from √t'óʔi- 'put away, store'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade], Cowlitz [Kinkade]).

t'łəmxwən [tɬ'ʌ́m.xwən] *Ref:* WB, CR 'to prick, stick, stab'.

Etym: From local Salishan: *ƛ'ə́mx̣-n* (transitive: from √ƛ'əmə́x̣- 'stick an object into, spear, throw a spear'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]), *ƛ'amə́x̣-n* (transitive: from √ƛ'əmə́x̣- 'poke'; Cowlitz [Kinkade]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [tɬ'ʌməx̣ʌn] <tɬ'αmmᵃx̣αn> 'to stab'.

t'səqʰən [ts'ʌ́.qʌn; tš'ʌ́.qʌn; tsɪ'.q'ɪn] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'to kick'.

Etym: From local Salishan: *cə́qy'ən* 'kick' (Lower Chehalis [Kinkade and Powell 2005]), *caqíy'n* (transitive: from √cəqíy'- 'kick'; Cowlitz [Kinkade]), *cə́qəy-n* (transitive: from √cəqəyí- 'kick'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]); *cf c'əq'-n* (transitive: from √c'əq'- 'push in, press down'; Cowlitz [Kinkade]). *Bay* Center CW [tsʌ́qəyɪn] <tsə́κᵃyɪn> 'to kick'.

t'sikʰwən [ts'í(ˀ).kwən] *Ref:* WB, EP, JP 'to pinch, scratch'.

Etym: From local Salishan: *c'ík'ʷ-n* 'pinch' (transitive: from √c'ík'ʷ-; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]).

Etym: From local Salishan. Mrs. Luscier observed that the CW word is also Lower Chehalis; and indeed, terms of like form and meaning were widely known among speakers of local Coast Salish languages: Upper Chehalis √c'iátkʷ 'Stick Indian, Sasquatch', Cowlitz √č'iátkʷu 'Stick Indians' (Kinkade); Lushootseed *c'yátkʷuʔ* (an unidentified group of "vicious, wild people"), *c'yákʷu* "some kind of monster" (Bates, Hess, Hilbert).

x̣axaʔ •ʳ *Ref:* <oh-oh> (St. Onge) 'wonder'.

Etym: Apparently from local Salishan: *x̣axá·ʔ* 'sacred, taboo, forbidden' (from √x̣axáʔi-; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]). *Cf* Kathlamet *x̣áx̣a* 'to notice' (verbal particle, KT 34.11), Wasco-Wishram *ʔəx*, *ʔəx̣* 'to transform (into), create' (verbal particle; Hymes slip-files, Dyk 125).

x̣iləmət̓ •ʳ *Ref:* <x̣é·l'lαmαt̓> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0386: jph notes that <é·> is "almost ı′") 'work', <qē´lEmitl> (lower Columbia River CW, Boas 1892) 'to make'.

Etym: From local Salishan: *x̣ə́t̓m'ət̓* 'work, do' (Lower Chehalis [Snow]); *x̣ə́lm-t̓* (intransitive: from √x̣ələ́mi-~x̣ələ́ma- 'ready'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]).

x̣uqʰən [x̣ú⁽ʲ⁾.qən] *Ref:* VH 'pick out, gather up'.

Etym: From local Salishan: *x̣ʷúqʷən* 'gather together' (Lower Chehalis [Kinkade and Powell 2005]), *x̣úqʷ-n* (transitive: from √x̣ʷúqʷi- 'gather'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [x̣óʔqwʌn] <x̣ó·'ʞwαn> 'pick it up' ("e.g. from the floor").

x̣uqʰuməł •ʳ *Ref:* <kokumelh>, <ĥokumelh> (Lionnet) 'to heap up, to gather', <ĥoĥomilĥ> (St. Onge) 'gather'.

Etym: From Local Salishan: *x̣ʷúqʷ-m'ł* (detransitive: from √x̣ʷúqʷi- 'gather'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]).

yax̣an •ʳ *Ref:* <ïahan [sic]> (Demers 58: St. Onge's personal copy of Demers shows hand-written correction to <iahan>), <Iaĥan> (St. Onge) 'to judge'.

Etym: From local Salishan: *yax̣-án* (transitive: from √yáx̣- 'make a choice, pick out, sort'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]), *yáx̣-n* (transitive: from √yáx̣- 'sort, make a choice') (Cowlitz [Kinkade]).

yaʔim [yá⁽ʲ⁾.ʔɪm; yá⁽ʲ⁾ʔ.yʊm] *Ref:* JH 1932, VH, WB, EJ, MM 'to tell, narrate; telling, narration'.

Etym: From a local Salishan verb with "middle-voice" suffix *-m*: *yáy'ay'əm* 'tell (news) (Lower Chehalis [Kinkade and Powell 2005]), *yá·y-m'* (from √yá·ya- 'tell something'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]); *cf yáy-n* (transitive: from √yáy- 'tell, tell on') (Cowlitz [Kinkade]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [yʌ́ʔʌyʌm] <yá''αyαm> 'to tell'.

yeʔlan [yéʔ/lá⁽ʲ⁾n] *Ref:* JH 1928 'help, assistance'.

Etym: From local Salishan: *yelə́ʔən* 'help' (Lower Chehalis [Kinkade and Powell 2005]); *cf* (?) *s-yalə́m'* 'hired help' (from √yalə́m- 'hire'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [yɪlʌ́ʔʌn] <yɪllá''αn> 'help (noun)'.

yənəs •ʳ *Ref:* <Ienes> (Demers) 'teeth'.

Etym: From local Salishan: *yə́ns* 'tooth, teeth' (from √yənís-; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade], Cowlitz [Kinkade]).

ʔaptsit •ʳ *Ref:* <haptitsil [sic?]> 'rudder' (Demers).

Etym: From local Salishan: *ʔapcit* 'front, stern' (Lower Chehalis

[Czaykowska-Higgins 2003]), *ʔápct*, *s-ʔápct* 'stern of a canoe, front seat of a car' (from √ʔápcat-; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]).

3 From Chinookan and/or local Salishan

c'hət'łəx̣w •r *Ref:* Chet´-lo, Jet´-lo (Gibbs), <tʃétɬ'x̣w̓> (Bay Center form, jph 17.0262; the language isn't identified, and may be CW or Lower Chehalis) 'oyster'.

Etym: From a noun recorded both as Lower Chinook and as local Salishan: *i-c'ə́ƛ̓x̣* <ēts'ētlq> 'oyster' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *č'ə́ƛ̓əx̣ʷ* (Lower Chehalis [Snow]).

k'wik'wiyans •r *Ref:* <k'wɪ'·k'wɪyɑ·ns> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0416) 'needle'; <kwekwians, kwekwiuts> (Demers) 'pin'.

Etym: Compare local Salishan √k'ʷík'ʷi- 'sticking in' (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]), √k'ʷík'ʷ- 'stick into' (Cowlitz [Kinkade]), *k'ʷík'ʷiyan'st* 'straight pin' (Lower Chehalis [Snow]). The immediate source of the CW is in some doubt, however, because a very similar form is also on record as a Chinookan noun: *a-k'ʷík'ʷiyáns* 'a pin' (Clackamas [mj slip-files]). Not included in Kinkade and Powell's (2005) list of Salishan etymologies.

lipʰlip [lɪ́p.lɪp; lʌ́p.lʌp] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, CR 'to boil, boiling'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle also recorded as a local Salishan stem-form: *ləp* <lEp> 'to boil' (Boas 631), *láplap* 'bubbling' (CCT 148); *lápləp-n* (transitive: from √lə́p- 'boil'; Cowlitz [Kinkade]), √ləp- 'boil, bubble' (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌ́pəlʌp] <lápᵃlap> 'to boil'.

na [na] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH '?'.

Etym: From an interrogative particle shared by Chinookan and local Salishan: *na* '?' (CT 145.4, 37.8; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade], Cowlitz [Kinkade]). *Cf* Demers <na> '?' (not entered in the dictionary, but frequently appearing in the catechism: examples in texts 31.Q12, .Q14; 32.12).

qʰəstəkw •r *Ref:* <kastik> 'baume' (Pinart in Grant 1951:286), <Kastik> 'balsam' (Demers).

Etym: The form and meaning of this obscure CW word suggest words for 'mint, peppermint' recorded both from Chinookan and local Salishan: Upper Chehalis √qə́stkʷ 'mint, wild peppermint' (Kinkade), Upper Chinook *i-q'ə́štik* 'peppermint, peppermint leaf' (Clackamas [mj slip-files], Wasco Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). Note also Canadian French "li boum", "Le baume sauvage" (corresponding to Michif Cree **li boum**, **liboum savæzh**; compare Pinart above) 'wild mint, peppermint' (Fleury and Barkwell 5).

q'aləs [q'á⁽⁾.lʌs~lɪs] *Ref:* EJ 'raccoon'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun shared with local Salishan: *i-qʷ'alás* <-q!oalás> (Boas 598), *i-q'álaləš* (WT 152); *qʷ'áls* (from √qʷ'álas-; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]), √qʷ'á·l's (Cowlitz [Kinkade]) 'raccoon'.

q'ayʔwa [q'á⁽⁾ɪʔ.wʌ; q'á⁽⁾.yʊ.wʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'twisted, crooked; dishonest'.

Etym: A near-matching stem-form is on record from local Salishan: *q'áyw-n* (transitive: from √q'əyw- 'crooked'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]). *Cf* also Chinookan *-q'aya* 'squeeze' (verb-stem), as in *qa-i-a-x̣-au-i-q'aya-(a)kʷa-x̣* <qāyaxawiq!ā'yakoax> '[tense-he?-her?-reflexive-them-to-*Stem* -about-usitative] he squeezed himself through it' (apparently: he

squeezed himself through her about them) (KT 32.1, parsed following Hymes 186).

tʰat [tʰá⁽ˀ⁾t; tʰá⁽ˀ⁾ʈa] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH 'uncle'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun and address-form shared with local Salishan: *táta* 'uncle!' (address-form) (CT 9.7), *i-iá-tata* 'his maternal uncle' (Boas 607), *tat'* 'uncle' (Lower Chehalis [Snow]). *Cf* Bay Center CW <tá·t'> '(maternal or paternal) uncle'.

t'łəx̣wt'łəx̣w •ʳ *Ref:* <Klógh-klogh> (Gibbs) 'oyster'.

Etym: Widely recorded for 'oyster' in Coast Salish languages: Lushootseed *λ̓'úx̣ʷλ̓'ux̣ʷ*; Saanich, Samish, Upper Chehalis *λ̓'ə́x̣ʷλ̓'əx̣ʷ* (Montler 1991:11, Galloway 1990:68, Kinkade and Powell 2005). Apparently shared with Chinookan: Chinook <-ʟō´xʟox> (Boas 598), Kathlamet <iʟō´xʟōx> (KT 214.7) 'oyster'.

t'łił [tɬ'ɪ́ɬ] *Ref:* JH 1928 'bitter'.

Etym: From a stem-form shared by Chinookan and local Salishan: *í-λ̓'ł* <´-ʟ!ʟ> 'bitterness' (a noun) (Boas 600), √λ̓'əł 'bitter, sour' (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [tɬ'ʌɬ] <tł'áł> 'bitter'.

t'łip [tɬ'ɪ́p] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB 'penetrate, go in, sink'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle; or perhaps more accurately, a particle shared by Chinookan and local Salishan: *λ̓'ləp* <ʟ!lEp> (Boas 631), *λ̓'lap* <ʟ!lap> (KT 115.2) 'under water'; *cf* local Salishan √λ̓'əp 'deep' (Lower Chehalis [Kinkade and Powell 2005], Upper Chehalis [Kinkade], Cowlitz [Kinkade]). Lower Chehalis *q'láp* 'deep' is the source of a Bay Center CW word of similar meaning: **q'aləp** •ʳ 'deep'. *Cf* Demers <tlep> 'to sink', <tlip, tlep> 'deep, abrupt', <ʜlipsan> (for **t'łip-san**) 'sunset'.

t'sikt'sik [ts'ɪ́k.ts(')ɪk; tš'ɪ́k.tš(')ɪk; tsɪ́k.tsɪk, tšɪ́k.tšɪk] *Ref:* JH 1928, JH (Jacobs 1945:297, 315, 318), WB, EJ 'wagon'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun shared with local Salishan: *i-c'íkc'ik* <its'ḗkts'[?]k> 'wagon' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]; marginally legible), *c'íkc'ik* 'wagon' (from √c'ik- 'squeak'; Cowlitz [Kinkade]). Some of the phonetic variation recorded for the Chinook Wawa word may trace ultimately to Chinookan consonant symbolism, as in the following Wishram series (Sapir in Boas 640): *i-cíkcik* 'wagon', contrasting with *is-c'ikcik* 'buggy' and *i-djíkdjik* 'heavy truck'. However, the Chinookan nuanced meanings illustrated are entirely lost in CW. *Cf* Bay Center CW <ts'ɪ́kts'ɪ́k, ts'î·kts'i·k> 'wagon, wheel'.

t'siqʰwaʔ [ts'í⁽ˀ⁾.qwʌʔ] *Ref:* JH 1928 'piss-ant'.

Etym: A matching Upper Chinook noun is on record: *a-č'íqwa* 'ant' (Clackamas [mj 52:29]). But note also the resemblance to local Salishan for 'step on' (!): *c'íq'ʷ-n* (transitive: from √c'iq'ʷa- 'step on'; Cowlitz, Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]).

ulq' [ʔú⁽ˀ⁾lq'; ʔó⁽ˀ⁾l.q'ɛ] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH 'snake'.

Etym: This word suggests the same Chinookan particle/verb-stem that is the source of **loqa** 'swallow'; the CW form is also identically a word for 'snake' in local Salishan: *ʔulq'* 'snake' (Lower Chehalis [Snow]); *cf* Chinookan *-wulq'*, variant of √-lq' 'swallow' (as in *a-n-ł-u-wúlq'-am-a* <anʟuwúlq!ama> 'I will eat them', KT 121.10: parsed following Hymes 265). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ʔółʌq'] <'ó·l.'ɑʜ'> 'snake'.

uma? [ʔú$^{(ˈ)}$.mʌʔ] *Ref:* VH 'to give food to, feed'.

Etym: This word suggests stem-forms recorded both as local Salishan and as Chinookan; the immediate source may have been a related particle or imperative, most likely from local Salishan. Boas (1892) cites <ṍma> 'to give food' as Lower Columbia CW, attributing the word to "Chihalish" (Lower Chehalis): *cf ʔúm-la* 'feed it!' (from √ʔum- 'feed'; Cowlitz [Kinkade]), *ʔúm-n* 'give food to, feed' (transitive: from √ʔúmal- 'give'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]); *cf* also Chinookan *-ʔim* 'feed', as in *n-a-l-ʔim-a* '[I-her-to- *Stem* -future] I will feed her' (Boas 619), *í-l-ʔim* <ẽ́l'ẽm> '[him-to-give] give him food' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]).

4 From Nootka Jargon

chaku [tšá$^{(ˈ)}$.ku̯~gʊ, tšá$^{(ˈ)}$.ko̯~go; tšá$^{(ˈ)}$.gwʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR, ID 'come, approach, arrive; bring about'.

Etym: From Nootka Jargon **chukwá-** 'come (here)' (Clark 2005: Clark notes that the word is "a little unclear" in his sources). *Cf* Nootka Nootkan *čukʷa·* 'come!' (imperative particle) (Sapir and Swadesh 280); Makah Nootkan *šuʔuk*, *šuʔukʷaƛ'* 'come here!' (Pascua 2001). *Cf* Bay Center CW [tšákʊ] <tʃá·kʊ> 'come here!'.

chikʰəmin [tšɪ́.kə.mɪn] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'metal; coin, money'.

Etym: The source appears to be a Nootkan word: *cikimin* 'iron' (Powell 107-108, Sapir and Swadesh 303), *cikipq-* 'to strike with iron' (Sapir and Swadesh 303). According to Sapir and Swadesh, these Nootkan forms are actually based on a borrowing from CW. However, the early seafaring traders responsible for introducing Nootkan words to the lower Columbia recorded similar-looking Nootka Jargon forms (Clark 2005), strongly suggesting that the CW really does go back to a Nootkan original. *Cf* Bay Center CW [tšɪ́kʌmɪn] <tʃɪ́kɑmɪn> 'money, iron'.

haykʰwa [há$^{(ˈ)}$ɪ.kwʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928, LK, EP 'dentalium shells'.

Etym: From Nootka Jargon **haihwa** (Clark 2005): *cf* Ditidaht Nootkan *ḥiixʷa* 'dentalium shell' (Powell 9). *Cf* Bay Center CW [háɪkwʌ] <hâ·ykwɑ> 'dentalia'.

hayu [há/yú$^{(ˈ)}$] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'many, much'.

Etym: From Nootka Jargon **hayú** 'many, much' (Clark 2005): *cf* Nootka Nootkan *ḥayu* '10' (Powell 217), *ʔaya* 'to be lots' (Powell 149); Makah Nootkan *χayu·* [word for '10' used in songs] (Pascua 2001). *Cf* Bay Center CW <hɑ·yú·> 'lots'.

huyhuy [hú$^{(ˈ)}$ɪ.hʊɪ] *Ref:* JH 1928, ET 'exchange, barter'.

Etym: The source appears to be a Nootkan word, introduced to the lower Columbia in distorted form by the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century English-speaking seafaring traders: *ḥaʔuyi*, *ḥaaʔuy* 'to trade, barter, swap' (Nootka [Powell 174]). *Cf* Bay Center CW <hóyhʊy> 'to trade'.

kakshət [k̓á$^{(ˈ)}$k.šət] *Ref:* JH 1936, WB, EJ, CR 'beat, whip, damage, destroy'.

Etym: From Nootka Jargon **kwat-shitl** 'break', **ka(t)shitl** 'kill' (Clark 2005): *cf* Nootka Nootkan *k'ʷačiƛ*, *kʷačiƛ* 'to break or snap in two' (Powell 103-104), *qaḥ-šiƛ* 'to die' (Powell 91-92); Makah Nootkan *qaχ-šiƛ* 'to die' (Pasqua 2001). *Cf* Bay Center CW [kákšʌt] <ká·k.ʃɑt> "to hit or lick a person".

kəmtəks [k̟ʌ́m.dʌks; kʰʌ́m.t̪ʌks] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'know, understand, remember; perceive, hear, listen'.

Etym: From Nootka Jargon **kamataks** 'understand' (Clark 2005): *cf* Nootka Nootkan *kamat* 'known, definite' (Sapir and Swadesh 284), Makah Nootkan *kabat'ap* 'to know a fact' (Pascua 2001); Clark proposes *-ak-s* (durative 1 sg) as the original Nootka suffix, Silverstein (1996:128) *-aḥ* (irrealis). *Cf* Bay Center CW [kʌ́mtʌks] <kámtɑks> 'to know'.

łatwa [ɬá(ˀ).dwʌ; ɬá(ˀ).t̪ʊ.wʌ~dʊ.wʌ, ɬá(ˀ).t̪o.wʌ~do.wʌ; ɬ̌á(ˀ).t̪ʊ~t̪o, ɬá(ˀ).dʊ~do] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'go'.

Etym: From Nootka Jargon **klatawa** 'go away' (Clark 2005): *cf* Nootka Nootkan *ƛatw'a·* 'to paddle' (Powell 165), Makah Nootkan *ƛata·wač'ak* 'a paddle' (Pascua 2001). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ɬátʌwʌ, ɬátʊwʌ] <ɬá·tɑwɑ, ɬâ·tʊwɑ> 'go, travel'.

łuchmən [ɬʊ́tš.mən] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'woman, female'.

Etym: From Nootka Jargon **klutsma** 'woman' (Clark 2005): *cf* Nootka Nootkan *łu·cma* 'woman' (Powell 111). Terminal **-n** in the CW form may be by analogy with English "woman". *Cf* Bay Center CW [ɬútšʌmɪn] <ɬú·tʃɑmɪn> 'woman'.

łush [ɬú(ˀ)š] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'good'.

Etym: From Nootka Jargon **klush** 'good, pretty' (Clark 2005): *cf* Nootka Nootkan *ƛuł* 'pretty, handsome', *ƛuł-* 'good' (stem-form) (Powell 97, 98, 183); Makah Nootkan *ƛułu·* 'good, clean', *ƛuł-* (stem-form) (Pascua 2001). *Cf* Bay Center CW [łuš] <ɬû·ʃ, ɬó·ʃ> 'good'.

makuk [má(ˀ).k̟ʊk] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'to buy, pay for'.

Etym: From Nootka Jargon **makúk** 'trade' (Clark 2005): *cf* Nootka Nootkan *ma·kuk* 'to buy' (Powell 174), 'trading, buying, selling' (Sapir and Swadesh 264). *Cf* Bay Center CW <má·kʊk> 'to buy'.

mamuk [má(ˀ).mʊk, mʌ́.mʊk] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'to do, make, work; to bring about, cause; to fornicate; day (of the week)'.

Etym: From Nootka Jargon **mamúk** 'work' (Clark 2005): *cf* Nootka Nootkan *mamu·k* 'working' (Sapir and Swadesh 264); Makah Nootkan *babuyak* 'working' (Pascua 2001; Nootka [m] corresponds to [b] in Makah). *Cf* Bay Center CW <má·mʊk> 'to make'.

mawich [má(ˀ)ʊ.wɪtš] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, EJ, JP, EP 'deer'.

Etym: From Nootka Jargon **mowich** 'deer': *cf* Nootka Nootkan *muwač* (Powell 27-28), Ditidaht Nootkan *buwač* (Powell 27) 'deer'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <má·witʃ> 'deer'.

munk [mʊ́ŋk; mʌ́ŋk] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'to make, do, use as, work with or around'.

Etym: Derived from **mamuk** 'do, make, work; fornicate' (originally from Nootka Jargon **mamúk** 'work'). It is possible that the switch to **munk** was originally motivated by desire to avoid the taboo meaning 'fornicate'; compare **mamunk**, recorded as a "polite" (taboo-meaning excluding) alternate of **mamuk**. The form **munk** has been recorded consistently only from Grand Ronde community speakers, for whom it has largely replaced regional **mamuk**.

nanich [ná(ˀ).nɪtš; ná(ˀ)ntš, ná(ˀ)nš] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'to see, look, observe'.

Etym: From Nootka Jargon **nananich(i)** 'look, see' (Clark 2005):

cf Nootka Nootkan *n'an'a·n'ič*, *n'an'a·č* 'looking (at something)' (Powell 171). *Cf* Bay Center CW [nánɪtš] <ná·nɪtʃ> 'to see'.

palach [pá(ˀ).lʌtš, pʌ́.lʌtš; pá(ˀ).ɬʌtš; pá(ˀ)lš] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'to give'.

Etym: The source has been identified (by Clark 2005 and others) as Nootkan *p'a-čiƛ* 'give away-[momentaneous]', which is reasonably close to Clark's reconstructed Nootka Jargon for 'give': **pachitl**. If the latter form or something like it was indeed the source of the CW word, it underwent further distortion for reasons unknown. *Cf* Bay Center CW [pá:ɬʌtš] <pâ·łɑtʃ> 'to give'.

pʰishak [pʰɪ́/šá(ˀ)k̟] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB 'bad (rough, brushy) place; unsettling'.

Etym: From Nootka Jargon **pishak** (Clark 2005): *cf* Nootka Nootkan *p'išaq* 'bad, wicked, immoral, ugly' (Powell 97-98), *p'išχak* 'rough, dirty' (Sapir and Swadesh 263), Makah Nootkan *p'išek* 'oh! rats!' (interjection) (Pascua 2001).

saya [sá/yá(ˀ), sá(ˀ).yʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ 'away, far'.

Etym: From Nootka Jargon **saya** (Clark 2005): *cf* Nootka Nootkan *saya·* 'distant, far off' (Powell 119-120). *Cf* Bay Center CW [sʌyá] <sɑyá> 'far away'.

tayi [t̪á/yí(ˀ)] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'chief, boss; best, excellent'.

Etym: From Nootka Jargon **tayi(s)** (Clark 2005): *cf* Nootka Nootkan *ta·yi·* 'oldest son' (Powell 111-112), 'older brother, senior' (Sapir and Swadesh 267). *Cf* Bay Center CW [tʌ́/yí] <tɑ́yɪ, tɑyí·> 'chief'.

tənas [t̪ʌ́/ná(ˀ)s] *Ref:* JH, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'child'.

Etym: From Nootka Jargon **taná(s)** 'child, little' (Clark 2005): *cf* Nootka Nootkan *t'an'eʔis*, *t'an'aʔis* 'child' (Powell 111-112). The same Nootkan word is the original source of **tunus**, **tənəs-** 'small', which in Grand Ronde CW if not elsewhere is a word independent of 'child'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [tʌnás] <tɑná·s> 'little'.

tənəs- [t̪ʌnʌs, t̪ʊnʊs, t̪ənəs; t̪ú/nú(ˀ)s, t̪ʊ́nʊs; tənɪ́(ˀ)s, tʰənɛ́(ˀ)s] *Ref:* JH, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'small'.

Etym: From Nootka Jargon **taná(s)** 'child, little' (Clark 2005): *cf* Nootka Nootkan *t'an'eʔis*, *t'an'aʔis* 'child' (Powell 111-112). The same Nootkan word is the original source of **tənas** 'child', which in Grand Ronde CW if not elsewhere has become a word independent of 'small'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [tʌnas-, tánas-] <tɑna·s, tá·nɑ·s> 'little'.

wik [wɪ́k, wɪ́(ˀ)k; wé(ˀ)k] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'no, not'.

Etym: From Nootka Jargon **wik** (Clark 2005): *cf* Nootka Nootkan *wik* 'not, nothing' (Sapir and Swadesh 259), Makah Nootkan *wiki*, *wik-* 'no, not, be not' (Pasqua 2001). *Cf* Bay Center CW <we·k> 'no'.

5 From other indigenous sources

ampkwa [ʔá(ˀ)mp.k̟wʌ, ʔʌ́mp.k̟wʌ] *Ref:* WB, EJ 'Umpquas'.

Etym: Ultimately from *ạkʷa*, a Tututni Athapaskan name applied to the Umpquas (HNAI7:586). The Chinuk Wawa form of the name was shared generally by speakers of Northwest Oregon languages.

antʰiyeł [ʔá(ˀ)n.tɪ.yɛł] *Ref:* Johnny Allen (*pace* Pauline Warren Johnson) 'yellowjacket'.

Etym: Jacobs records Clackamas Upper Chinook *wa-ántyəł*, but also, Santiam Kalapuya *antʰyé·ł*

'yellowjacket' (CCT 15, Jacobs 1945:51). *a(n)-* is a Kalapuyan noun marker, revealing the Clackamas to probably be a Chinookan borrowing from Kalapuyan. The word could have come into CW either from Chinookan or Kalapuyan, since CW words derived from Chinookan nouns usually drop unstressed Chinookan gender markers (such as, here, *wa-* 'feminine singular'). *cf* Bay Center CW [ántɪʌɬ] <'â·ntɪʌɬ, 'á·ntɪ'yáɬ> 'yellowjacket, bumblebee' (mf 17.0284, 0295, 0296).

ant'wał •r *Ref:* <antwalh> (Lionnet) 'tree'.

Etym: From a Kalapuyan noun: *an-t'wáʔł* (Santiam-Marys River), *hán-t'wał* (Tualatin) 'Douglas fir' (Zenk 1976:92-93). "Tree" is a logical extension of the original meaning, considering the ubiquity of the Douglas fir in the lower Columbia region.

chəmawa [tšə.má(ˈ).wʌ] *Ref:* WB, CR, EJ 'Chemawa Indian School'.

Etym: From the original Kalapuyan name of a nearby prairie, recorded as *ča-mɛ́·wiʔ* 'place of low-lying, frequently overflowed ground' (Santiam [mj 33:53, 46:74]). There was indeed a good deal of low-lying and marshy land in the vicinity, ideal camas habitat, making the location a favored Santiam camas-harvest site. The same Kalapuyan name has been recorded for other places in the Willamette Valley, which before modern agriculture was notably marshier than now.

əx̣ [ʔə́x̣] *Ref:* WB, EP 'feces; to defecate'.

Etym: A number of words from local languages show similar forms and/or meanings: Chinookan *áx̣* 'cough up, spit up', *ʔəx̣* 'to transform, create' (Wasco-Wishram verbal particles [Hymes slip-files]); Sahaptin **áx̣** 'yucky, icky' (a Yakama baby-talk word [Beavert and Hargus 2009]); local Salishan *ʔəx̣ʷínustn* 'he defecated' (from √ʔáx̣ʷa- 'throw, throw away' + *=ínus* [lexical suffix: variant of *=inwasi* 'stomach, belly, insides']) (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]).

kʰanakʰa [kʰʌ.ná(ˈ).kʌ; kʰʌ.nǽ(ˈ).kʌ] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:238), EP, Norwest family usage 'Hawaiians' (also used locally for dark-skinned or black persons).

Etym: From the Hawaiian word for 'person'. Hawaiians were part of the ethnic mix during fur-trade times in the Pacific Northwest, and are represented in some Grand Ronde family genealogies.

kʰinikʰinik •r *Ref:* <kɪní·kɪnɪk> (Bay Center CW [Emma Luscier], jph 18.0247: plant with red berries, leaves mixed half-and-half with tobacco).

Etym: Judging from available spellings, the CW word is identical in form to a Michif Cree word for another plant widely used in smoking mixtures: **kinikinik** 'red willow' (Fleury and Barkwell 7). The word could have come from local Métis French, local English, or conceivably both; the ultimate source is an Algonkian word for smoking mixtures, variously given: for example, Natic <kinukkinuk> 'mixture' (American Heritage Dictionary, 1978 ed.).

kʰwəsh •r *Ref:* <kʷ̓ə́ʃ> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0418) (exclamation of refusal).

Etym: This interjection is close in form and meaning to a number of particles recorded from lower Columbia languages: Chinookan and Lower Chehalis *kuš* 'good!' (Boas 636); Chinookan *k'š* 'oh!' (Boas 636);

Lower Chehalis *xəs* (Snow), Upper Chehalis √xə́s (Kinkade), Cowlitz √xə́š (Kinkade) 'bad'; Tillamook *qəš* negative particle (Thompson and Thompson).

k'aynuł [k'á(ˈ)ɪ.nʊɬ] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'tobacco'.

Etym: The source is a noun shared by Chinookan and Kalapuyan: Chinookan *i-k'áinuł* 'tobacco' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas], Clackamas [CCT 507], Wasco [Zenk 1976:84]); Kalapuyan *an-k'áinu·ł* (Santiam-Marys River), *a-k'é·nuł* (Tualatin) 'tobacco' (Zenk 1976:84). *Cf* Bay Center CW [k'áiʔyɪnʊɬ] <k'á·y'yɪnʊ(ˈ)ɬ> 'tobacco'.

mitas [mí/ṭá(ˈ)s; mí/tá(ˈ)š, mí/tǽ(ˈ)š] *Ref:* JH 1928, JH (Jacobs 1945:29, 184), Gatschet (1877:161, 1877a:31), Frachtenberg (1913, 1:133) 'leggings'.

Etym: From Canadian French "mitasse", referring to gaiters. Norman Fleury, a speaker of Michif Cree (a Cree and French based "mixed language" spoken in Saskatchewan and Manitoba), observes that [mitás] is general Cree for 'pants', but Michif Cree for 'leggings' - exactly as in CW (Norman Fleury personal communication). The word is presumably originally from Cree. *Cf* Bay Center CW <mɪtâ·s> 'leggings'.

pʰaʔ [pʰÁʔ] *Ref:* EP, MM 'egg'.

Etym: From a Kalapuyan noun: [ʔampʰáʔ] 'egg' (JH Santiam [Hajda *pace* Swadesh 1953]). This is the word for 'egg' the Hudson siblings grew up with. The word actually comes from their father's tribal language, Santiam Kalapuya, although that by no means disqualifies it as CW - at least, as Hudson-family CW. In Kalapuyan, the same word also means 'seed'.

pumpum •ʳ *Ref:* <PúmPʊm> (Jacobs Molala slip-files: given as Molala *and* CW) 'drum'.

Etym: Attested as both Kalapuyan and Molala (mj slip-files).

pʰupʰup [pʰo.pʰó(ˈ)p, pʌ.pʰú(ˈ)p] *Ref:* JH 1928, EP 'owl'.

Etym: This is the Hudson-family generic CW term for 'owl'. The origin is clearly Kalapuyan, but the exact derivation is uncertain. Three Santiam/Marys River Kalapuya terms show similar forms and meanings: 1) *antʰpúpuʔ* <antBúBu', an tpópoʔ> 'screech owl [*Otus asio*]' (Jacobs 1945:41; Frachtenberg 1913); 2) <"Bú' Bú' Bú' Bú'">, the usual or ordinary call of the screech owl ('owl! owl! owl! owl!', in Jacobs 1945:79: contrasting with <"q'ú'q q'ú'q q'ú'q q'ú'q">, the call that portends trouble); 3) *pupʰú·p* <Pupú'p>, identified as a tiny owl "the size of a matchbox," whose hooting early in the morning portended good weather (size and call suggest the pygmy owl, *Glaucidium gnoma*) (mj Santiam slip files).

shayim [šá(ˈ).yɪm; šá(ˈ).yʊm] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, EJ 'grizzly'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun shared with Kalapuyan: *i-šáyim* 'grizzly' (Lower Chinook, Clackamas [Boas 567, 604, CCT 18]), *a-šáyum* (Santiam Kalapuya [Zenk 1976:83]).

tʰaẋ [tʰá(ˈ)ẋ; tʰáq] *Ref:* EP, ID 'to gasp, be astonished'.

Etym: This word happens to closely match Kalapuyan [tʰa·ẋ], [tʰaq] 'weep, cry' (Tualatin [Berman slip-files], Mary's River [Frachtenberg 1913, 1:83]).

tʰukʰwəs [tʰú(ˈ).kwəs] *Ref:* EJ '(walking) cane'.

Etym: From a noun recorded both as

Sahaptin and from the easternmost Chinookan dialects: *i-túk'waš* 'cane, walking stick, crutches' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]), **túk'ash** 'cane, crutches' (Yakama Sahaptin [Beavert and Hargus 2009]).

tʰwalat'i [tʰwá(ˈ).lʌ.t'ɪ~ʈɪ] *Ref:* VH (Jacobs 1958-59:520), JH (Swadesh 1953), WB 'Tualatins'.

Etym: The citation-form is recorded also in Chinookan and Central Kalapuya. The Tualatins' own name in Tualatin Kalapuya was *a-tʰfálat'i*.

tʰwin [tʰwí(ˈ)n, tʰwɪˈn] *Ref:* ET 'tail'.

Etym: This is a Sahaptin word recorded as CW only from ET, who spent much of his adult life at Warm Springs Reservation among Sahaptin speakers: **twín** 'tail' (Yakama Sahaptin [Beavert and Hargus 2009]).

t'upa [t'ú(ˈ).pʌ] *Ref:* EP 'cow parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum*)'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun shared with Kalapuyan: *i-t'úba* (Clackamas [mj slip-files]), *i-dúba* (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]), *an-t'úpaʔ* (Santiam Kalapuya [mj 74:24, 83:139]) '*H. lanatum*'.

t'ux̣ [t'ó̞x̣; tʰóf] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EP, ID 'to spit; saliva'.

Etym: Similar looking forms are on record from local Salishan and Kalapuyan: √tá̞x̣ʷs- 'spit' (Cowlitz and Upper Chehalis stem-form [Kinkade]: *cf* Upper Chehalis *t'úx̣ʷsčinan* 'spit on'); [t'aʊ̯f] 'spit' (Santiam Kalapuya [Hajda *pace* Swadesh 1953]), [taf, t'af] <taf, t!af> 'saliva' (Marys River Kalapuya [Frachtenberg 1913, 1:16]). The immediate source of the citation form may have been an unrecorded Chinookan particle. The alternate form with [f] is from the Hudson sisters, whose father spoke Santiam Kalapuya. *Cf* Bay Center CW [tʊhw̥ʷ] <tʊhw̥> 'to spit'.

t'sipi [ts'í(ˈ).pɪ, ts'í(ˈ).pɪʔ; tsí(ˈ).pɪ, tší(ˈ).pɪ] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'to miss'.

Etym: From a Kalapuyan transitive verb: *-c'í·piʔ, -č'í·pi·ʔ* 'missed (it)' (Santiam-Marys River [Jacobs 1945:49.46 (1), 233.10 (4)]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ts'ɪˈpɪʔ] <ts'í·'pɪ·', ts'í·pɪ'> 'to miss the mark; to get lost, lose one's way'.

t'sulu [ts'ú(ˈ).lʊ] *Ref:* WB, EJ 'to get lost, lose the way'.

Etym: From a Kalapuyan intransitive verb: *-c'úlo·ʔ* 'be lost' (Santiam-Marys River [Jacobs 1945:299]).

walawala [wá(ˈ).lʌ/wá(ˈ).lʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928, Gatschet (1877a:66) 'Walla Walla' (in **walawala-win** 'East Wind').

Etym: From Sahaptin *walawála* 'little rivers' (reduplicated diminutive of *wána* 'river') (HNAI 12:419).

wayhi [wá(ˈ)ɪ.hɪ] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:238), VH 'Hawaiians'.

Etym: From Hawaiian "Hawa'i", for the Polynesian homeland. Hawaiians were part of the ethnic mix during fur-trade times in the Pacific Northwest, and are represented in some Grand Ronde family geneologies.

yamhil [yá(ˈ)m.hɪl] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877a:26), Frachtenberg (Molala: 1911), VH (Jacobs 1958-59:556) 'Yamhills'.

Etym: From a Kalapuyan tribe-name. The Yamhills' own name for themselves was *a-yámil*; to other Kalapuyans they were known as the *a-yámhala* (Zenk 2008:26). The CW form has been influenced by local English, in which the name has long been pronounced as if it meant "yam hill" [sic].

yankala [yá(ˈ)ŋ.k̟ʌ.lʌ] *Ref:* EP 'Yoncallas'.

Etym: From a Kalapuyan tribe name, recorded as Yoncalla (Southern Kalapuya) *a-yánkalat* and Santiam (Central Kalapuya) *a-yánkʰalat* (Zenk 2008:26).

6 From English

ayrish [ʔá(ˈ)ɪ.rəš] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:238), WB 'Irish'.

Etym: From English "Irish".

ays •ʳ *Ref:* <Aïs> (Demers) 'ice'.

Etym: From English "ice".

bastən [bá(ˈ)s̪.t̪ən; p̪á(ˈ)s̪.t̪ən; bá(ˈ).sən] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'American; White'.

Etym: From English "Boston", a legacy of the first American traders to visit the lower Columbia River, beginning with Captain Robert Gray and the crew of the *Columbia Rediviva* in 1792 - seafarers whose home port was most generally the city of Boston, Massachusetts. *Cf* Bay Center CW [pástʌn, pʰástʌn] <pâ·stɑn, pʿâ·stɑn, pá(ˈ)stɑn> 'American; White man'.

bet [bɛ́(ˈ)t] *Ref:* JH 1928 'bet'.

Etym: From English "bet".

bət [bʌt; p̪ʌt] *Ref:* WB, CR, EJ 'but'.

Etym: From English "but".

bit [bɪ′(ˈ)t] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ '(one) bit [a dime]; (two) bits [a quarter]'.

Etym: From English "bit". Gibbs's dictionary shows <Bit, Mit> 'a dime or shilling'.

bon [bó(ˈ)n] *Ref:* JH 1928 'bone; bone gambling piece'.

Etym: From English "bone".

brich [brí(ˈ)tš] *Ref:* JH 1941, Gatschet (1877:260) 'bridge'.

Etym: From English "bridge".

buk [bʊ́k] *Ref:* JH 1928 'book'.

Etym: From English "book". *Cf* Bay Center CW <pʊ́kʍ> 'book'. Harrington notes: "She [his informant, Emma Luscier of Bay Center, Washington] supposes the Eng[lish] word, if used in the jarg. [= CW], to be thus. She hesitates at approving this word, she w[oul]d ev[idently] never use it".

but(s) [bú(ˈ)t, bú(ˈ)ts] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:84) 'boot(s)'.

Etym: From English "boot(s)".

chap •ʳ *Ref:* <tʃáᵃp> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0329) 'Japanese'.

Etym: From non-standard English "Jap".

chaynəmən [tšá(ˈ)ɪ.nə.mən] *Ref:* JP 'Chinese; Oriental'.

Etym: From non-standard English "Chinaman" (Chinese; any Oriental).

chayni [tšái/ní(ˈ)] *Ref:* Marion Mercier Forrester, Gatschet (1877:238) 'Chinese; Oriental'.

Etym: From non-standard English "Chinee" (Chinese; any Oriental).

chəlis •ʳ *Ref:* 'Cherries' (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade], Wasco-Wishram [Hymes]).

Etym: From English "cherries". Appearing as Upper Chehalis √čə́lis (Kinkade) and Wasco-Wishram *i-číliš* (Hymes slip-files). Like most other old loans from English into local indigenous languages, this one most likely came originally through the medium of CW.

chikʰin •ʳ *Ref:* <tcáinɪ'ɑm tcíkɪn> (mj Molala slip-files [Fred Yelkes]) 'Chinese Pheasant'.

Etym: From English "chicken".

Appearing in Molala (mj slip-files); also known as regional CW.

dakta [dá(ˈ)k.ʈʌ; dá(ˈ)k.ʈər] *Ref:* EP, CR 'doctor'.

Etym: From English "doctor". *Cf* Bay Center CW [táktʌ] <tû·ktɑ> 'doctor'.

dala [dá(ˈ).lʌ; ʈá(ˈ).lʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB 'dollar; money'.

Etym: From English "dollar". *Cf* Bay Center CW [tálʌ] <Tû·lɑ> 'dollar'.

dəchmən [dʌ́tš.mən] *Ref:* ID 'German'.

Etym: From non-standard English for 'German'.

djəs [dʒʌ́s] *Ref:* WB, CR 'just'.

Etym: From English "just".

ən [ʔən] *Ref:* CR 'and'.

Etym: From English "and".

fitəl [fiˈ.dəl] *Ref:* JH 1928 'fiddle'.

Etym: From English "fiddle".

geyt [gé(ˈ)t] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:385), CR 'gate'.

Etym: From English "gate".

gitəp [gɪ.ʈʌ́p; gɛ.ʈʌ́p, ḵɪ.ʈʌ́p] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, ET 'get up, arise'.

Etym: From English "get up". *Cf* Bay Center CW <ki·tá·p> 'get up!'.

gul [<agúl> (Gatschet 1877:263)] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:263) 'gold'.

Etym: From English "gold".

hal [há(ˈ)l] *Ref:* VH, EP 'pull, haul'.

Etym: From English "haul". *Cf* Bay Center CW <há·l> 'to pull'.

hala [há(ˈ).lʌ] *Ref:* CR, EP 'holler, cry out'.

Etym: From English "holler".

haps [há(ˈ)ps] *Ref:* WB, EJ 'hops'.

Etym: From English "hops".

haws [há(ˈ)ʊs] *Ref:* JH 1932, VH, WB, EJ 'house; building'.

Etym: From English "house". *Cf* Bay Center CW <há·ws> 'house'.

hikchəm [hí(ˈ)k.tšəm, hɛ́(ˈ)k.tšəm; kʰí(ˈ)k.tšəm] *Ref:* JH 1928, Gatschet (1877:384, 1877a:84), Frachtenberg (1914,6:36, 12:19, 23), VH (mj 69:83) 'handkerchief'.

Etym: From English "hankerchief" (and/or "kerchief", *à la* the alternate form **kʰikchəm**). *Cf* Bay Center CW [híktšəm] <hí·k.tʃəm> 'handkerchief'.

hol [hó(ˈ)l] *Ref:* CR 'to hold'.

Etym: From English "hold".

hom [hó(ˈ)m] *Ref:* CR, ID 'home'.

Etym: From English "home".

huf [hʊ́f, hú(ˈ)f] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:171) 'foot (in length)'.

Etym: Apparently from English "hoof".

kʰapech •ʳ *Ref:* <Kapech> (Demers) 'cabbage'.

Etym: From English "cabbage".

kʰaptən •ʳ *Ref:* <Kapten> (Demers) 'captain'.

Etym: From English "captain".

kʰephaws [kɛ́(ˈ)p.hʌʊs] *Ref:* JH 1928 'jail'.

Etym: From English "keep-house".

kʰetəl [kɛ́(ˈ).dəl; kɪˈ.dəl] *Ref:* CR 'kettle'.

Etym: From English "kettle".

kʰilay [kʰɪˈ/lá(ˈ)ɪ; kʰlá(ˈ)ɪ] *Ref:* VH, WB, EJ, CR 'cry'.

Etym: From English "cry". *Cf* Bay Center CW [kʰəláy] <kʿə̂lâ·y> 'to cry'.

kʰinchuch [kʰɪm.tšú(ˈ)tš; ḵɪm~kʰin.dʒʌ́(ˈ)tš] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, Gatschet (1877:238)

'Englishman'.

Etym: From English "King George". *Cf* Bay Center CW [kɪntšə́tš] <kɪntʃə́·tʃ>.

kʰipʰəp [kʰí(ˀ).pʌp] *Ref:* EJ 'keep up'.

Etym: From English "keep up".

kʰis •ʳ *Ref:* <kɪ·s> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0492) 'kiss'.

Etym: From English "kiss". A number of English words adopted into CW show extra-long vowels: here [ɪ·], replacing English [i].

kitɬən [k̟í(ˀ).tɬən~ɬən; kʰí(ˀ).tɬən~ɬən] *Ref:* VH, WB, CR, EP 'bucket'.

Etym: Presumed to be from English "kettle". *Cf* Bay Center CW [kʰɪ̂tlɑn] <kʿî·tlɑn> 'kettle'.

kʰlin [kʰlí(ˀ)n] *Ref:* EJ, CR 'to clean'.

Etym: From English "clean".

klis [k̟lí(ˀ)s; k̟rí(ˀ)s, glí(ˀ)s] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EP, MM 'grease'.

Etym: From English "Grease". *Cf* Bay Center CW [kəlís] <kᵊlí·s> 'fat'.

klisi [k̟lí(ˀ).si] *Ref:* WB 'crazy'.

Etym: From English "crazy".

kʰlisməs •ʳ *Ref:* <Klismes> (Demers) 'Christmas'.

Etym: From English "Christmas".

kʰofi [kó(ˀ).fi; kʰá(ˀ).fi] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:125), MM 'coffee'.

Etym: From English "coffee".

kʰul [kʰú(ˀ)l; kʰó(ˀ)l; kʰó(ˀ)lt, kó(ˀ)lt] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'cold; a year'.

Etym: From English "cold" and/or "cool". *Cf* Bay Center CW <ko·l, kʿʊ·l> 'cold'.

kʰum •ʳ *Ref:* <Kom> (Demers), <Comb> (Gibbs) 'comb'.

Etym: From English "comb".

kʰut [kʰót, kʰú(ˀ)t; kʰó(ˀ)t] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:15, 103, 148, 1877a:84), Jacobs (re-elicitation of De Angulo and Freeland 1928, item 6230) 'coat; gown, dress'.

Etym: From English "coat".

kʰwata [kwá(ˀ)t̟ʌ] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:160) 'quarter [25c]'.

Etym: From English "quarter". *Cf* Bay Center CW [kwátʌ] <kwáɑtɑ [sic?]> '1/4'.

kʰwilt [kʰwí(ˀ)lt] *Ref:* VH, CR 'quilt'.

Etym: From English "quilt".

la [lá(ˀ)] *Ref:* EP 'law'.

Etym: From English "law".

lam [lá(ˀ)m, lʌ́m] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, VH, CR 'whiskey; booze'.

Etym: From English "rum", a word going back to the English-speaking seafaring traders who began entering the mouth of the Columbia River in 1792. *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌm] <lá·m> 'whiskey'.

lariyet [lʌ.rɪ.yɛ́(ˀ)t] *Ref:* JH 1928 'lariat; a lash'.

Etym: From English (or Spanish?).

lays •ʳ *Ref:* <lá·ys> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0277), <lá·yṣ> (N Oregon Coast CW [Louie Fuller], jph 20.0123), <lais> (St. Onge) 'rice'.

Etym: From English "rice".

leyk •ʳ *Ref:* <Lek> (Demers) 'lake, pond'.

Etym: From English "lake".

lisi [lí(ˀ).si] *Ref:* EP 'lazy'.

Etym: From English "lazy".

lup [lú(ˀ)p; ló(ˀ)p] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB 'rope, line'.

Etym: From English "rope". *Cf* Bay Center CW <ló·p> 'string, thread,

rope'.

man [má⁽ˀ⁾n] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'man, husband; male'.

Etym: From English "man". *Cf* Bay Center CW <má·n> 'man'.

meri [mɛ́⁽ˀ⁾.rɪ; mɛ́⁽ˀ⁾.lɪ, má⁽ˀ⁾.lɪ] *Ref:* CR, MM 'to marry'.

Etym: From English "marry".

məlasis •ʳ *Ref:* <mɑlá·sɪs> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0295) 'syrup', <Molassis> (Demers) 'molasses'.

Etym: From English "molasses".

məskit [mʌ́s.kɪt̪] *Ref:* JH 1928 'gun'.

Etym: From English "musket". *Cf* Bay Center CW <má·skɪt> 'gun (of any kind)'.

mun [mú⁽ˀ⁾n] *Ref:* JH 1928, CR 'moon; month'.

Etym: From English "moon". *Cf* Bay Center CW <mú·n> 'moon, month'.

nim [nɪ́⁽ˀ⁾m; né⁽ˀ⁾m] *Ref:* JH 1932, CR, ET, EP 'name'.

Etym: From English "name". *Cf* Bay Center CW <nɪ́·m> 'name'.

nus [nú⁽ˀ⁾s; nó⁽ˀ⁾z] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, ET, EP, MM 'nose'.

Etym: From English "nose". *Cf* Bay Center CW <nó·s> 'nose'.

nuwis [nú⁽ˀ⁾.wɪs] *Ref:* ET 'noise'.

Etym: From English "noise".

or [ʔor] *Ref:* WB, CR 'or'.

Etym: From English "or".

pʰawaw [pʰá⁽ˀ⁾ʊ.waʊ] *Ref:* EP 'pow-wow'.

Etym: Recently borrowed into local CW from modern pan-Indian English.

paya [p̪á⁽ˀ⁾.yʌ; pʰá⁽ˀ⁾.yʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'fire; to burn; cooked, done'.

Etym: From English "fire". *Cf* Bay Center CW [páyʌ] <pá·yɑ> 'fire'.

pʰæ [pʰǽ⁽ˀ⁾] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:18) 'pear'.

Etym: From English "pear". In common with other recorders before us (notably, Melville Jacobs), we feel that English words borrowed into Grand Ronde tribal languages are probably also to be considered community CW, whether or not explicitly identified as such.

pʰey [pʰé⁽ˀ⁾] *Ref:* CR 'to pay'.

Etym: From English "pay".

pʰeynt •ʳ *Ref:* <Peint> (Demers) 'paint, color'.

Etym: From English "paint".

piltən [p̪ɪ́l̩.t̪ən, p̪ɪ́l̪t̪.ʔn̩; pʰɛ́l.tʌn] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, CR 'foolish, crazy'.

Etym: According to Gibbs (1863:20): "The Indians adopted this word from the name of a deranged person, Archibald Pelton, or perhaps Felton, whom Mr. Wilson P. Hunt found on his journey to Astoria, and carried there with him." If true, this anecdote dates the word to the presence of English-speaking traders during the early days of the land-based fur trade (Astoria was founded as Fort Astor in 1811). *Cf* Bay Center CW [pʌ́ltʌn] <pʌ́ltɑn> 'foolish'.

pipa [p̪í⁽ˀ⁾.pʌ; pʰí⁽ˀ⁾.pʌ, pʰé⁽ˀ⁾.pʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'paper; letter, document, book'.

Etym: From English "paper". *Cf* Bay Center CW [pɪ́ˑpʌ] <pî·pɑ> 'paper'.

pis [p̪í⁽ˀ⁾s] *Ref:* WB 'to urinate'.

Etym: From English "piss". A number of English words adopted into CW show de-aspirated initial consonants

(here [p̪], replacing English [pʰ]) and extra-long vowels (here [iˑ], replacing English [ɪ]).

pit [p̪iˑt] *Ref:* VH 'bed'.

Etym: From English "bed".

pʰlum [pʰlúˑm; p̪rúˑm] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH 'broom'.

Etym: From English "broom". *Cf* Bay Center CW [pəlǵm] <pᵃlǵ·m> 'broom'.

pot [póˑt; p̪ót] *Ref:* JH 1928, Gatschet (1877:85) 'boat'.

Etym: From English "boat". *Cf* Bay Center CW <pó·t> 'boat'.

pʰush [pʰóš; p̪ós, púˑs, pʰós] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, CR 'push'.

Etym: From English "push".

rawnd [ráˑʊn(d)] *Ref:* VH, CR 'around in a circle; the whole of'.

Etym: From English "round".

samən [sáˑ.mən] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'salmon; fish (generic)'.

Etym: From English "salmon". *Cf* Bay Center CW [sámʌn] <sá·mɑn> 'fish (generic)'.

san [sáˑn; sʌ́n] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'sun; day'.

Etym: From English "sun". *Cf* Bay Center CW <sá·n> 'sun'.

sang [sáˑŋ] *Ref:* CR 'a song'.

Etym: From English "song".

santi [sáˑn̪.t̪ɪ~sʌ́n̪.t̪ɪ] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, LK 'Sunday; week'.

Etym: From English "Sunday". *Cf* Bay Center CW <sâ·ntɪ> (no translation given).

sapil •ʳ *Ref:* <sá·Pɪl> (mj Molala slip-files [Fred Yelkes]: identified as "jargon") 'shovel'.

Etym: From English "shovel".

sik [sɪ́k] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ 'sick; sickness'.

Etym: From English "sick". *Cf* Bay Center CW <sí·k> 'sick'. According to Harrington, the informant pointed out that CW [ɪ·] is "longer" than [ɪ] in English "sick": suggesting that she did not consider the CW form to be simply the same as the English word.

sil [sɪ́l, síˑl] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, LK 'cloth, rag'.

Etym: From English "sail", a word going back to the English-speaking seafaring traders who began entering the mouth of the Columbia River in 1792. *Cf* Bay Center CW <sí·l> 'sail'.

silhaws [sí l.haʊs, síˑl.haʊs] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, LK 'tent; a camp'.

Etym: From English "sail" + English "house": refer to **sil**, **haws**. *Cf* Bay Center <sí·lhá·ws> 'tent'.

sing [síˑŋ] *Ref:* CR 'to sing'.

Etym: From English "sing".

sisu [sɪ́.sʊ] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:78) 'scissors'.

Etym: From English "scissor(s)". *Cf* Bay Center CW <sí·só> 'scissors'.

skilit [skɪ́.lɪt] *Ref:* JH 1932 'cooking pot'.

Etym: From English "skillet".

skin [sk̪ɪ́ˑn, sk̪íˑn] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'skin, hide; covering'.

Etym: From English "skin". *Cf* Bay Center CW <skí·n> 'skin'.

skul [sk̪úˑl] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:36), WB, CR 'school'.

Etym: From English "school".

smuk [smúˑk, smók; smóˑk] *Ref:* VH, CR, EP 'smoke; to smoke (e. g., tobacco); to fumigate (ritually)'.

Etym: From English "smoke". *Cf* Bay

Center CW <smó·k> 'smoke'.

snu [snú(ˀ); snó(ˀ)] *Ref:* JH 1928 'snow; a year'.

Etym: From English "snow".

so [só(ˀ)] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:9) 'saw'.

Etym: From English "saw".

so [so] *Ref:* CR 'and so'.

Etym: From English "so".

solt [só(ˀ)lt] *Ref:* Frachtenberg (1913, 1:36) 'salt'.

Etym: From English "salt". *Cf* Bay Center CW [sɔlt] <sǿ·lt> 'salt'.

sop •ᴿ *Ref:* <só·p> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0466), <sōp> (St. Onge), <sop> (Lionnet) 'soap'. Harrington also records Bay Center CW <sǿ·p> 'soup', but notes that <ǿ·> in the latter is "closer" than the <ǿ·> in 'soap'.

Etym: From English "soap".

spun [spú(ˀ)n] *Ref:* JH 1928 'spoon'.

Etym: From English "spoon". *Cf* Bay Center CW <spǿ·n> 'spoon'.

stachən •ᴿ *Ref:* <stá·tʃɑn> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0143), <Stutch´-un> (Gibbs) 'sturgeon'.

Etym: From English "sturgeon".

stakin [st̪á(ˀ).k̪ɪn] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:84), Frachtenberg (1913, 1:133) 'stockings, garters'.

Etym: From English "stocking". *Cf* Bay Center CW [stákʌn] <stâ·kɑn> 'stocking'.

stik [st̪ɪ́k] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'stick, bush, tree, woods; wood'.

Etym: From English "stick". *Cf* Bay Center CW <stɪ́k> 'tree'.

stil •ᴿ *Ref:* <Stil> (Demers).

Etym: From English "steel".

stinput [st̪ɪ́n/pú(ˀ)t] *Ref:* VH 'steamboat'.

Etym: From English "steamboat".

ston [st̪ó(ˀ)n, st̪ó(ˀ)n] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH 'stone; testicles'.

Etym: From English "stone". *Cf* Bay Center CW <stǿ·n, stǿ·n> 'stone, rock'.

stuv [stǿv] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:5) 'stove'.

Etym: From English "stove".

shap [šá(ˀ)p] *Ref:* EP 'sharp'.

Etym: From English "sharp".

shat [šá(ˀ)t] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:74, 148, 272), Frachtenberg (1913, 1:133; 1914, 8:21), LK 'shirt'.

Etym: From English "shirt". *Cf* Bay Center CW [šat] <ʃɑ·t> 'shirt'.

shat •ᴿ *Ref:* <Shot> (Gibbs) 'shot, lead'.

Etym: From English "shot".

shim [šɪ́(ˀ)m] *Ref:* WB 'ashamed, embarrassed, disappointed'.

Etym: From English "shame". *Cf* Bay Center CW [šem] <ʃe·m> 'shame'.

ship [šɪ́p] *Ref:* JH 1928 'ship'.

Etym: From English "ship".

shuka [šú(ˀ).k̪ʌ~gʌ] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:125), VH 'sugar'.

Etym: From English "sugar". *Cf* Bay Center CW [šukwʌ́ʔʌ] <ʃu·(k)kwɑ́'ɑ> 'sugar'.

shulchast [šú(ˀ)l.tšʌst] *Ref:* VH 'soldiers'.

Etym: From English "soldier(s)".

shus [šú(ˀ)s] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, CR 'shoes'.

Etym: From English "shoe(s)".

tanis [t̪á(ˀ).nɪs~nəs; dá(ˀ)n(t)s, dǽ(ˀ)ns] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR, ET 'a dance;

to dance'.

Etym: From English "dance". *Cf* Bay Center CW <tá·ns, d̥á·ns> 'dance'.

tʰawn [tʰá⁽ˀ⁾ʊn] *Ref:* VH 'town'.

Etym: From English "town".

tʰaym [tʰá⁽ˀ⁾ɪm] *Ref:* WB, CR, ET 'time, occasion'.

Etym: From English "time".

tʰi [tʰí⁽ˀ⁾] *Ref:* JH 1928, Gatschet (1877a:64) 'tea'.

Etym: From English "tea". *Cf* Demers <Ti> 'tea'.

tʰiktʰik •ʳ *Ref:* <tí·ktɪk> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0354), <aias-tik-tik> (St. Onge) 'clock'; <tik-tik> (St. Onge), <Tik´-tik> (Gibbs) 'watch'.

Etym: From English "tick-tick".

tilay [tɪ′/lá⁽ˀ⁾ɪ, ṭə́/lá⁽ˀ⁾ɪ; ṭ.lá⁽ˀ⁾ɪ] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'dry'.

Etym: From English "dry". *Cf* Bay Center CW [təlʌ́ɪ] <tᵃlʌ́y> 'dry'.

tishis [tɪ′.šɪs] *Ref:* Frachtenberg (1913, 1:132) 'dishes'.

Etym: From English "dishes".

tʰubits [tʰú/bɪ′⁽ˀ⁾ts] *Ref:* EJ 'twenty-five cents'.

Etym: From English "two bits". *Cf* Bay Center CW <mə́·kw̥st pɪ́t> 'two "bits"'.

tumala [ṭʊ.má⁽ˀ⁾.lʌ, ṭ.má⁽ˀ⁾.lʌ; tʰʊ.má⁽ˀ⁾.lʌ] *Ref:* JH 1932, VH, WB, EJ 'tomorrow, next day'.

Etym: From English "tomorrow". *Cf* Bay Center CW [tʌmálʌ] <tɑmá·lɑ> 'tomorrow'.

tʰuttʰut •ʳ *Ref:* <Tut tut> (Demers) 'wind instrument'.

Etym: Apparently from English "toot".

ul [ʔú⁽ˀ⁾l; ʔó⁽ˀ⁾l] *Ref:* CR 'old'.

Etym: From English "old".

ulman [ʔú⁽ˀ⁾l.mʌn; ʔó⁽ˀ⁾l.mʌn] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, EJ 'old man, husband; senior'.

Etym: From English "old man". *Cf* Bay Center CW [ʊ́lmʌ́n] <ʊ́·lmɑ́n> 'old man'.

wach [wá⁽ˀ⁾tš] *Ref:* CR 'to watch, look at'.

Etym: From English "watch".

wach •ʳ *Ref:* <Wach> (Demers) 'watch, clock'.

Etym: From English "watch".

wash *Ref:* EP 'to wash'.

Etym: From English "wash".

wam [wá⁽ˀ⁾m] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'warm, hot'.

Etym: From English "warm". *Cf* Bay Center CW <wá·m> 'hot'.

wayn •ʳ *Ref:* <Waïn> (Demers) 'wine'.

Etym: From English "wine".

wel [wɛ́⁽ˀ⁾l] *Ref:* CR '(water) well'.

Etym: From English "well".

wel [wɛ́⁽ˀ⁾l, wɛ́⁽ˀ⁾lʔ, wəlʔ] *Ref:* CR 'well (then ...)'.

Etym: From English "well".

win [wɪ′⁽ˀ⁾n; wɪ′⁽ˀ⁾nṭ, wɪ′⁽ˀ⁾nd] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, ET, CR 'wind; breath'.

Etym: From English "wind". *Cf* Bay Center CW <wɪ́n> 'wind'.

wiski •ʳ *Ref:* <Wiski> (Demers) 'whiskey'.

Etym: From English "whiskey".

yuk *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:137) 'yoke (measure for oxen)'.

Etym: From English "yoke".

The initials MLT below stand for Marie-Lucie Tarpent (personal communications, 2010)

apa •ʳ *Ref:* <Appa> (Demers) 'well then, ... ; if this is the case, ...'.

Etym: In a handwritten annotation to his personal copy of Demers (of which he was final editor), Fr. St. Onge cites French "ăh bién or eh bien" (well!) as the likely source of this word. MLT concurs, citing the expression's Canadian French casual form: "eh ben" \e bɛ̃\.

ata [ʔá/ʈá⁽ʲ⁾] *Ref:* VH, WB, EJ 'wait, wait for'.

Etym: Probably from French "attends" \atã\ (second person singular imperative form of "attendre", to wait) (MLT).

budi [bʊ.dí⁽ʲ⁾; bo.dí⁽ʲ⁾] *Ref:* EP, JP 'to pout'.

Etym: Apparently from French "bouder", to sulk.

dret [dré⁽ʲ⁾t; ʈré⁽ʲ⁾t, ʈɪ.ré⁽ʲ⁾t; dlé⁽ʲ⁾t, dɪ.lí⁽ʲ⁾t] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, ET, CR 'straight; directly, really; correct, true'.

Etym: From Canadian French "drette", a dialect alternant of Standard French "droit(e)" 'straight, right(-hand)' (MLT). *Cf* Bay Center CW [tʌlít] <tɑlí·t, tɑlí·t> 'straight, right, really'.

eklis •ʳ *Ref:* <eklis> (Demers) 'the (Catholic) Church'.

Etym: From French "église".

kabreys [k̟ʌ.bré⁽ʲ⁾s; gʌ.bré⁽ʲ⁾s] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:14) 'lariat strap'.

Etym: David Robertson (personal communication) calls our attention to New World French "cabresse", ultimately from Spanish "cabestro", referring to a halter rope: an entry in John Francis McDermott's *A*

kʰapu [ká/p̠ú⁽ʲ⁾; ká/p̠ó⁽ʲ⁾] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ, MM 'jacket, coat'.

Etym: From French "capot". *Cf* Bay Center CW [kʌpú] <kɑpú·, kɑpó·> 'coat'.

karapin [k̟á.rʌ/pí⁽ʲ⁾n; k̟ʌ.lʌ.pí⁽ʲ⁾n] *Ref:* WB, JH 1928 'gun, rifle'.

Etym: From French "carabine". *Cf* Bay Center CW [skʌlʌpɪ́n] <skɑlɑpí·n> 'rifle'.

kʰatʰolik •ʳ *Ref:* <Katolik> (Demers) 'Catholic'.

Etym: From French "catholique".

kʰriye [kʰrí⁽ʲ⁾.yɛ; kʰrí⁽ʲ⁾] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, MM 'scream, yell, cry out'.

Etym: From the French verb "crier" \krije\. The alternate form **kʰri** may be from the noun "cri" and/or a homophonous singular verb form (MLT).

kuri [k̟ú⁽ʲ⁾.rɪ, k̟ó.rɪ; k̟ú⁽ʲ⁾.lɪ] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'to run'.

Etym: From French "courir" (probably reflecting the dialectal pronunciation \kuri\, according to MLT). *Cf* Bay Center CW <kú·lɪ> 'to run'.

kushu [k̟ú⁽ʲ⁾.šu] *Ref:* Jacobs 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'hog, pig'.

Etym: From French "cochon" \kɔšɔ̃\ or \kušɔ̃\ (the latter is a dialect alternate; MLT). *Cf* Bay Center CW [kúšu] <kû·ʃu> 'hog'.

labins •ʳ *Ref:* <lɑbɪ́·ns> (N Oregon Coast CW [Louie Fuller], jph 20.0103) 'beans'.

Etym: From Canadian French "bines", in turn derived from English "beans" (MLT).

labrid [lʌ.brí⁽ʲ⁾d] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:83)

'bridle'.

Etym: From French "la bride". *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌpəlít] <lɑpᵃlí·t> 'bridle'.

lachuk [lʌ.tšú⁽ˀ⁾k; tšú⁽ˀ⁾k] *Ref:* JH 1928, JP, EP, MM 'tasseled cap; hat, cap'.

Etym: From Canadian French "la tuque" \tsyk\, referring to a knitted winter cap with a long tasseled tail (MLT). Mr. Norman Fleury, a speaker of Michif Cree (a Cree and French based "mixed language" spoken in Saskatchewan and Manitoba), informs us that the CW form is identical to a Michif Cree word also referring to a tasseled cap. *Cf* Demers <Latuk> 'woolen cap'.

lahash [lá/há⁽ˀ⁾š; lɪ.há⁽ˀ⁾š] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, EJ, JP 'axe'.

Etym: From French "la hache". MLT points out that while [h] is not pronounced in modern Standard French, it is an archaic feature of some dialects, including Canadian French. *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌháš] <lɑhá·ʃ> 'axe'.

lakan [lʌ.ḳá⁽ˀ⁾n] *Ref:* VH 'cane'.

Etym: From French "la canne".

lakʰarat [lá.kʌ/rá⁽ˀ⁾t; lɛ́.kʌ/rá⁽ˀ⁾t, lɪ́.kʌ/rɛ́⁽ˀ⁾t; lá.kʌ/lá⁽ˀ⁾t] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'carrots'.

Etym: From French "la carotte". *Cf* Bay Center CW [lɪkʌlát] <lɪkɑllá·t> 'carrot'.

lakʰaset [lʌ.kʌ.sɛ́⁽ˀ⁾t] *Ref:* JH 1928 'trunk, box'.

Etym: From French "la cassette". *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌkʌsít] <lɑkɑsí·t> 'box'.

laklas •ʳ *Ref:* <Laklas> (Demers) 'ice'.

Etym: From French "la glace".

lakʰli [lá/kʰlí⁽ˀ⁾] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, Gatschet (1877:85, 394) 'key'.

Etym: From French "la clé". *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌklí] <lɑklí·> 'key'.

lakʰlwa •ʳ *Ref:* <Lakloa> (Demers, St. Onge) 'cross'.

Etym: From French "la croix" \krwa\.

lakum [lʌ.ḳú⁽ˀ⁾m; lɛ.ḳóm, lə.ḳó⁽ˀ⁾m; lʌ.gó⁽ˀ⁾m~gɔ́⁽ˀ⁾m] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, LK, EJ 'gum; pitch'.

Etym: From French "la gomme". *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌkó·m] <lɑkó·m> 'pitch'.

lalam [lʌ.lá⁽ˀ⁾m] *Ref:* VH 'paddle'.

Etym: From French "la rame" (the oar). *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌlám] <lɑlá·m> 'oar'.

lalang [lʌ.lá⁽ˀ⁾ŋ] *Ref:* JH 1928, ET, ID/MM 'tongue; language'.

Etym: From French "la langue" (tongue, language) (usually \lɑ̃ŋ\ in casual speech, according to MLT). *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌláŋ] <lɑlá·ŋ> 'tongue'.

lalasin •ʳ *Ref:* <Lalasin> (Demers) 'root'.

Etym: From French "la racine".

lalim [lʌ.lí⁽ˀ⁾m] *Ref:* JH 1928 'file (tool)'.

Etym: From French "la lime". *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌlɪ́m] <lɑlí·m> 'a file'.

lamatʰin [lá.mʌ/tʰí⁽ˀ⁾n, lʌ́.mʌ/tʰí⁽ˀ⁾n] *Ref:* EJ 'mittens'.

Etym: From Canadian French "la mitaine" (mitten).

lamatsin [lá.mʌ/tsí⁽ˀ⁾n, lʌ́.mʌ/tsí⁽ˀ⁾n; lʌm.tsí⁽ˀ⁾n; lʌ.mɛ.tsí⁽ˀ⁾n] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'medicine'.

Etym: From French "la médecine". According to MLT, the word has come to mean 'the medical profession' in modern Standard French, but retains its earlier meaning of 'medicine' in Canadian

French. *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌmɪtsín] <lɑmɪtsí·n> 'medicine'.

lamesh [lá/mɛ́ᵒ̯š] *Ref:* JH (Jacobs 1945:343) 'church'.

Etym: From French "la messe" (the mass).

lamətay [lá.mə/ṭáᵒ̯ɪ (mɪ~mʊ~mə); lʌ.mo/ṭáᵒ̯ɪ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, EJ, CR 'mountain'.

Etym: From French "la montagne".

lamil [lʌ́/míᵒ̯l] *Ref:* WB 'mule'.

Etym: From French "la mule" (female mule). *Cf* Bay Center CW <lɪmí·l> 'jackass'.

lamiyay [lá.mɪ/yáᵒ̯ɪ; lám/yáᵒ̯ɪ, lám/yéᵒ̯] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, EJ, CR 'old woman'.

Etym: From French "la vieille" \vjɛj\. *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌmɪyɪ́] <lɑmɪyí·> 'old woman'.

lamuwel [lʌ.mʊ.wɛ́ᵒ̯l; lʌm.wɛ́ᵒ̯l] *Ref:* JH 1928, EP 'marrow'.

Etym: From French "la moelle"; Canadian French preserves the older pronounciation \mwɛl\, contrasting with modern standard French \mwal\ (MLT).

lapʰal •ʳ *Ref:* <lɑpá·l> (middle Columbia CW [Joe Peter], jph 18.0009) 'paddle'.

Etym: From French "la pale".

lapal •ʳ *Ref:* <lɑpá·l> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0272) 'ball'.

Etym: From French "la balle".

laparp [lʌ.páᵒ̯rp̪] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH 'beard'.

Etym: From French "la barbe".

lapʰatʰak •ʳ *Ref:* <Lapatak> (Demers) 'potatoes'.

Etym: From a Canadian French word for 'potato': *cf* Michif Cree **lee patæk** 'potatoes' (Fleury and Barkwell 7), modern Canadian French "la pataque" 'sweet potato'.

lapʰel •ʳ *Ref:* <Lapel> (Demers, St. Onge) 'spade, shovel'.

Etym: From French "la pelle".

lapʰəyush •ʳ *Ref:* <lɑpᵃ̯yú·ʃ> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0424) 'shovel, spade, clam-digger'; <lapiosh> (Demers) 'hoe'.

Etym: From French "la pioche" \pjəʃ\. MLT points out that the word means 'pick-axe' in Standard French, but may refer to several digging instruments in Canadian French.

lapʰip [lʌ.pʰíᵒ̯p] *Ref:* WB, Frachtenberg (1913, 1:39, 91) 'pipe'.

Etym: From French "la pipe". *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌpíp] <lɑpí·p> 'pipe'.

lapiskʰwi •ʳ *Ref:* <Lapiskwi> (Demers) 'biscuit, cake'.

Etym: From French "le biscuit".

lapʰish •ʳ *Ref:* <lɑpɪ́·ʃ> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0424) 'pole'.

Etym: From French "la perche".

laplash [lá/p̪láᵒ̯š; lá/pʰláᵒ̯š] *Ref:* JH 1928, LK, Gatschet (1877:196) 'plank, lumber; seed bat'.

Etym: From French "la planche" \plãʃ\. *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌpláš] <lɑplá·ʃ> 'board'.

lapot [lʌ.póᵒ̯t; lɪ.póᵒ̯lt; lʌ.póᵒ̯rt] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB 'door'.

Etym: From French "la porte". *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌpót] <lɑpó·t> 'door'.

lapotʰay [lʌ.p̪o.tʰáᵒ̯ɪ; lá.pʊ/téᵒ̯, lá.pʊ/táᵒ̯ɪ] *Ref:* Jacobs 1928, EJ 'bottle'.

Etym: From French "la bouteille" (Canadian French "tends toward" \butaj\, *vs* Standard \butɛj\,

according to MLT). *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌpʊtáɪ] <lɑpʊtá·y> 'bottle'.

lapush [lá/p̪ú⁽ʲ⁾š~bú⁽ʲ⁾š] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, CR, EP 'mouth'.

Etym: From French "la bouche". *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌpú·š] <lɑpú·ʃ> 'mouth'.

lap^{h}ushet •ʳ *Ref:* <Lapushet> (Demers, St. Onge) 'fork'.

Etym: From French "la fourchette".

lap^{h}uwel [lʌ.pʊ.wɛ́⁽ˡ⁾l; lɛ́.pʊ.wɛl] *Ref:* JH 1928, Gatschet (1877:8), Frachtenberg (1913, 1:132) 'frying pan'.

Etym: From French "la poêle"; Canadian French preserves the older pronunciation \pwɛ·l\, contrasting with modern Standard French \pwɑl\ (MLT). *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌpʊwél] <lɑpʊwé·l> 'frying pan'.

larp [lá⁽ʳ⁾rp] *Ref:* EP 'Kinnikinnick leaves; marijuana'.

Etym: From French "l'herbe": *cf* Michif Cree (from Canadian Métis French) **l'arb**, referring to an herb (Fleury and Barkwell).

lasel [lʌ.sɛ́⁽ˡ⁾l] *Ref:* JH 1928 'saddle'.

Etym: From French "la selle". *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌsél] <lɑsé·l> 'saddle'.

lasiyet •ʳ *Ref:* <lɑsɪyɪ′·t> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0432), <Lasiet> (Demers) 'plate'.

Etym: From French "l'assiette" \lasjɛt\.

lasup [lá/sú⁽ʲ⁾p] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932 'soup'.

Etym: From French "la soupe".

laswe •ʳ *Ref:* <lɑswé·> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0433: <e·> is "open"), <Laswa> (Demers) 'silk'.

Etym: From French "la soie", with the older (still Canadian) pronounciation \swɛ\ (MLT).

lashantel [lʌ.šʌn.ʧɛ́⁽ˡ⁾l; lɪ′.šʌn/ʧɛ́⁽ˡ⁾l] *Ref:* JH 1928, LK 'candle'.

Etym: From French "la chandelle".

lashen •ʳ *Ref:* <Lashen> (Demers) 'chain'.

Etym: From French "la chaîne" \ʃɛn\.

lashəmine [lá.šə.mɪ.nɛ; lɛ́.šam/né⁽ˡ⁾] *Ref:* Jacobs 1928, LK 'chimney'.

Etym: From French "la cheminée" (chimney, fire-place).

latam [lá/ʧá⁽ˡ⁾m; lɪ′/ʧá⁽ˡ⁾m] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, LK, Gatschet (1877:83) 'table'.

Etym: From French "la table" \tabl\ (final [l] tends to disappear in casual speech, especially in Canadian French; MLT). *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌtám] <lɑtá·m> 'table'.

latet [lʌ.ʧɛ́⁽ˡ⁾t; lʌ.ʧí⁽ˡ⁾t] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'head'.

Etym: From French "la tête". *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌtét] <lɑté·t> 'head'.

lawen [lá/wɛ́⁽ˡ⁾n] *Ref:* LK, Gatschet (1877a:64, 93), JH (Jacobs 1945:329) 'oats'.

Etym: From French "l'avoine", with dialectal weakening of intervocalic [v] (MLT). *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌwén] <lɑwé·n> 'oats'.

lawest •ʳ *Ref:* <lɑwé·st> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0434: <e·> is "open"), <Lawest> (Demers) 'vest'.

Etym: From French "la veste" (vest), with dialectal weakening of intervocalic [v] (compare **lawen**) (MLT).

lefil [lɛ~lɪ.fí⁽ˡ⁾l] *Ref:* JH 1928 'thread'.

Etym: From French "le fil".

legley [lɛ.glé⁽ˡ⁾; lə.gré⁽ˡ⁾] *Ref:* JH 1928, EP

'grey'.

Etym: Evidently from French "le gris", though apparently influenced by English "grey" (MLT).

lekʰlu [lɛ.kʰlú⁽ˀ⁾ (lɛ~lɪ)] *Ref:* JH 1928, Gatschet (1877:213) 'nail'.

Etym: From French "le clou". *Cf* Bay Center CW [lɪkəlú] <lɪkᵃlú·> 'nail', Demers <Leklu> 'nail, peg'.

lemartʰo [lɛ.má⁽ˀ⁾r.to] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:83) 'hammer'.

Etym: From French "le marteau".

lemula [lɛ.mʊ.lá⁽ˀ⁾ (lɛ~lɪ)] *Ref:* JH 1928, Gatschet (1877:225) 'mill'.

Etym: From French "le moulin" \mulɛ̃\. *Cf* Bay Center CW <mʊlâ·> 'a mill'.

lemus •ʳ *Ref:* <lemus> (Demers, St. Onge), <lemush> (St. Onge) 'fly, gnat'.

Etym: From French "les mouches".

lepʰashey •ʳ *Ref:* <Lepashe> (Demers 66) 'shepherd(s)'.

Etym: From French "le berger" \bɛrʒe\ (shepherd) (MLT).

lepʰet •ʳ *Ref:* <Lepet> (Demers 32) 'festival, holiday'.

Etym: From French "les fêtes" (the holidays).

lepʰiyesh •ʳ

Etym: From French "le piège" (trap, snare).

lepʰot •ʳ *Ref:* <Lepot> (Demers) 'pitcher, cup'.

Etym: From French "le pot" (pitcher, pot; not cup); no final [t] in Standard French, but possible as Canadian French (MLT).

lepʰul [lɛ.pʰʊ́l] *Ref:* JH 1928 'chicken'.

Etym: From French "les poule(s)". *Cf* Bay Center CW <lɪpᵃlû·> 'chicken'.

leruban [lɛ́.rʊ.bʌn] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:84) 'ribbons'.

Etym: Presumably from French "le ruban", though the final [n] is anomalous (influenced by English "ribbon"?) (MLT). *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌlʊpá] <lɑlʊpâ·> 'ribbon'.

lesash •ʳ *Ref:* <Lesash> (Demers) 'angel'.

Etym: From French "les anges" (angels).

lespro [lɛ.spró⁽ˀ⁾] *Ref:* JH 1928 'spurs'.

Etym: From French "les éperons" \lezeprõ\ (spurs). MLT observes that the dropping of the French second syllable in the CW form conforms to a Canadian French phonological pattern (devoicing or loss of high vowels next to voiceless consonants).

leshaf [lɛ.šá⁽ˀ⁾f] *Ref:* JH 1928 'egg'.

Etym: The source is French "les œufs" \lezø\, plural form of "l'oeuf" \lœf\. MLT observes that the co-occurence of [f] with plural "les" seen in the CW form could reflect a Canadian French dialect alternate or local innovation, not necessarily a CW speakers' generalization. *Cf* Bay Center CW <lɪsá·p> 'egg(s)'.

letowa •ʳ *Ref:* <letoa, letoe> (St Onge) 'finger, claw'.

Etym: From French "les doigts" \dwa\ (fingers, not claws) (MLT).

ləhwet [lə.hwɛ́⁽ˀ⁾t] *Ref:* JH 1928 'whip'.

Etym: From Canadian French "le fouet" \fwɛt\; no final [t] in Standard French, but possible as Canadian French (MLT). *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌhwét] <lɑhwé·t> 'whip'.

ləsandjel [lə.sʌn.dʒɛ́⁽ˀ⁾l] *Ref:* JH 1928

'belt'.

Etym: "La ceinture" \sɛ̃tyr\ is modern Standard French for 'belt', but according to MLT a more likely source is "la sangle" \sɑ̃gl\ (strap, especially, the strap going around the belly of a horse or mule); [dž] in the CW form could have arisen as a palatalization of [g] in some Canadian French variety. [n] and final [l] are harder to explain, possibly bespeaking English influence.

libarədu [lɪ.bá(ˈ).rə.dʊ; lɛ.p̬á(ˈ)l.tʊ] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:13), LK (Frachtenberg in Gatschet 1877:13) 'shingles, clapboard'.

Etym: From French "le(s) bardeau(s)" (shingles) (MLT).

liblo [lɪˈ/bló(ˈ)] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877a:70) 'sorrel (color)'.

Etym: From French "le blond" \blɔ̃\.

ligwin [lɪ.gwí(ˈ)n (lɪ~lə); lɛ.k̬wí(ˈ)n] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:9), LK (Frachtenberg in Gatschet 1877:9) 'a saw'.

Etym: From French "l'égoïne" \legɔin\, the technical term for the usual kind of handsaw (MLT).

lik^{h}ak [lɪ.k^{h}á(ˈ)k (lɪ~lɛ)] *Ref:* EP, JP, Gatschet (1877:366) 'rooster'.

Etym: From French "le coq". *Cf* Bay Center CW <lɪkó·k> 'rooster'.

likart [lɪ.k̬á(ˈ)rt] *Ref:* JH 1928 'cards'.

Etym: From French "les cartes" \le kart\ (cards).

lik^{h}ay •^{r} *Ref:* <lɪkâ·y> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0439), <Lekaï> (Demers) 'spotted, speckled'.

Etym: From French "la caille" \kɑj\ (quail) (MLT).

lik^{h}rem [lí/k^{h}rɛ́(ˈ)m] *Ref:* LK 'yellow, dun, buckskin-colored'.

Etym: From French "la crème" \krɛm\ (cream), possibly confused with "le Saint-Chrême" \krɛ·m\ (the holy chrism; hence perhaps, **li** in the CW form) (MLT).

liku [lí /k̬ú(ˈ); lɛ́/k^{h}ú(ˈ)] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, CR, EP, JP 'neck, throat'.

Etym: From French "le cou". *Cf* Bay Center CW <lɪkú·> 'neck'.

lilu [lí.lʊ; lɛ.lú(ˈ)] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, EJ 'wolf'.

Etym: From French "le loup" \lu\.

lima [lɪˈ/má(ˈ); lɛ.má(ˈ)] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'hand, arm'.

Etym: From French "les mains". *Cf* Bay Center CW <lɪmá·, li·má·> 'hand'.

limoto [lɪˈ.mə/t̬ɔ́(ˈ)] *Ref:* JH 1928, Gatschet (1877:31, 83, 207) 'sheep'.

Etym: From French "le(s) mouton(s)". *Cf* Bay Center CW <lɪmʊtó·, lɪmu·tú·> 'sheep'.

limulo •^{r} *Ref:* <lɪmʊló·> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0274), <lemolo> (Demers), <Le-mó-lo> (Gibbs) 'wild'.

Etym: According to Gibbs, the source is Canadian French "le moron", meaning 'wild, untamed'. MLT suggests that this is a non-standard spelling for "le marron" \mɑrɔ̃\, an adjective for 'escapee, outlaw'.

lipisk^{h}wi •^{r} *Ref:* <lɪpɪskwɪˈ·> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0435) 'round hard-tacks', <lapiskwi> (Demers) 'biscuit, cake'.

Etym: From French "le biscuit" (small flat cake, cracker).

lip^{h}la [lɪ.p^{h}lá(ˈ)] *Ref:* WB 'plate'.

Etym: From French "le plat" \pla\ (dish [utensil or food]).

lip^{h}ret [lɪˈ/p^{h}rɛ́(ˈ)t] *Ref:* JH 1928, JH (Jacobs 1945:343), MM 'priest, minister'.

Etym: From French "le prêtre" \prɛtr\ (final [r] would tend to disappear in casual speech, especially in Canadian French; MLT). *Cf* Bay Center CW <lɪplé·t> 'preacher'.

lipum [lí/p̪ú(ˀ)m; lɛ́~lí/p̪ó(ˀ)m ~pó(ˀ)m] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'apple'.

Etym: From French "les pommes" \pɔm\ (but \pum\ in some Canadian dialects; MLT). *Cf* Bay Center CW <lɪpó·m> 'apple'.

lipʰwa [lɪ′/pʰwá(ˀ)] *Ref:* JH 1932, Gatschet (1877:37) 'peas; green beans'.

Etym: From French "le(s) pois" \pwɑ\ (peas). *Cf* Bay Center CW [lɪpəwá] <lɪpᵒwá·> 'peas'.

lipʰyi [lɪ′/pʰyí(ˀ); lɪ′/pʰí(ˀ); lɛ.pi.yé(ˀ), lɪ′.pɪ.yɪ] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB 'foot'.

Etym: From French "les pieds" \pje\. *Cf* Bay Center CW <lɪpɪyí·> 'foot'.

lisak [lɪ′/sá(ˀ)k; lɛ́/sá(ˀ)k] *Ref:* JH 1928, JH (Jacobs 1945:21), VH, WB, EP 'bag, sack'.

Etym: From French "le sac". *Cf* Bay Center CW <lɪsá·k> 'bag'.

lisayu •ʳ *Ref:* <lɪs̊s̊αyó> (N Oregon Coast CW [Louie Fuller], jph 20.0104), <Lesoïo> (Demers) 'onion'.

Etym: From French "les oignons" \lez ɔnjɔ̃\.

lishesh [lɪ′/šɛ́(ˀ)š] *Ref:* EJ 'chair'.

Etym: From French "la chaise".

lishol [lɪ′/šɔ́(ˀ)l] *Ref:* LK, Gatschet (1877:84, 148) 'shawl'.

Etym: From French "le châle" \ʃal\.

lita [lɪ′/t̪á(ˀ); lɛ.t̪á(ˀ)] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, CR, JP 'tooth, teeth'.

Etym: From French "les dents" \dɑ̃\. *Cf* Bay Center CW <lɪtá·> 'tooth, teeth'.

liyop [lí/yɔ́(ˀ)p, lí/yó(ˀ)b; li.yá(ˀ)b] *Ref:* JH 1928, JH (Jacobs 1945:284), EL 'the devil'.

Etym: From French "le diable"; probably a dialect form such as \gjɑ·b\, rather than Standard French \djɑbl\ (MLT). *Cf* Bay Center CW <lɪyó·p> 'the devil'.

lolsh •ʳ *Ref:* <Lolsh> (Demers) 'barley'.

Etym: From French "l'orge".

malakwa •ʳ *Ref:* <malakwa> (Demers), <Mél-a-kwa, Mál-a-kwa> (Gibbs) 'mosquito'.

Etym: From Canadian French "maringouin", based in turn upon a borrowing from Portugese, which in turn is based upon a word contributed by Tupi-Guarani, a South American Native language (Alan H. Hartley, personal communication 2005).

maliyash •ʳ *Ref:* <Maliash> (Demers, St. Onge) 'marriage'.

Etym: From French "mariage" \marjaʒ\.

malyi •ʳ *Ref:* <mɑl.yɪ′·> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0293) 'to marry; married'.

Etym: From French "marié" \marje\ (married), also used transitively (to marry) (MLT).

mama [má/má(ˀ)] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, CR 'mother'.

Etym: From French "maman" \mamɑ̃, mɑ̃mɑ̃\. *Cf* Bay Center CW [mʌmá] <mɑ(ˀ)má·> 'mother'.

masi •ʳ *Ref:* <má·sɪ> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0303) 'thank-you'.

Etym: From Canadian French "merci" \marsi\ (for Standard French \mɛrsi\; MLT).

mersi [mɛ́(ˀ)r.sɪ] *Ref:* EP 'thank-you'.

Etym: Compare regional **masi** •ʳ. The speaker (EP) may have been influenced by modern standard French.

nipersi [nɪ′.pœr.si] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:31) 'Nez Perce Indians'.

Etym: From French "nez percé" \ne pɛrse\, 'pierced nose' (HNAI 12:437).

nowel •ʳ *Ref:* <Noel> (Demers) 'Christmas'.

Etym: From French "Noël" \nɔɛl\.

papa [p̪á/p̪á⁽ˈ⁾; pʰʌp̪á] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'father'.

Etym: From French "papa" ("daddy"). *Cf* Bay Center CW [pʌpá] <pɑpá·> 'father'.

pi [p̪ɪ, p̪i⁽ˈ⁾] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'and, but, yet; than'.

Etym: From Canadian French "pis", corresponding to Standard French "puis": compare Michif Cree (from Métis French) **pi** 'and' (Fleury and Barkwell 6). *Cf* Bay Center CW <pɪ> 'and'.

pʰliye •ʳ *Ref:* <Plie> (Demers, St. Onge) 'pray; religion; sacred'.

Etym: From French "prier" \priye\ (to pray).

ptsiza [ptsi.zá⁽ˈ⁾, ptši.zá⁽ˈ⁾; tši.zá⁽ˈ⁾; tʰɪ.zá⁽ˈ⁾, tʰə.žá⁽ˈ⁾] *Ref:* JH (Jacobs 1945:275-335), EP, EL 'Petit Jean; the trickster'.

Etym: From Canadian French \ptsiʒã, tiʒã\, corresponding to Standard French "Petit Jean" \p(ə)tiʒã\ (MLT); *cf* "Ti-Jean", given as "the French (French Canadian) trickster" (Bakker 1992:63).

pʰuli [pʰʊ.lí⁽ˈ⁾] *Ref:* EP 'rotten'.

Etym: From French "pourri". It is possible that the speaker (EP) refreshed her memory of this word by consulting Edward Harper Thomas's (1935) popular dictionary, in which the word appears spelled "POO´-LIE". Most words of French origin retain [r] in local CW, albeit not in regional CW: *cf* Bay Center CW <pô·lɪ> 'rotten'.

puyu [p̪ú⁽ˈ⁾.yʊ; bo.yá⁽ˈ⁾] *Ref:* JH 1928, JP 'broth, soup'.

Etym: From French "bouillon" \bujõ\.

sandəli [sá⁽ˈ⁾n.də.li] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877a:70) 'roan (colored)'.

Etym: From French "cendré".

sesukʰli •ʳ *Ref:* <Sesu Kli> (Demers), <Iesu-Kli> (St. Onge) 'Jesus Christ'.

Etym: From French "Jésus Christ" \ʒezy kri\.

shapu [šá/pú⁽ˈ⁾] *Ref:* EP, ID 'hat'.

Etym: From French "chapeau".

shati [šá⁽ˈ⁾.t̪i] *Ref:* VH 'to sing'.

Etym: From French "chanter".

shawash [šá/wá⁽ˈ⁾š; sá/wá⁽ˈ⁾š] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932/1941, WB, EJ 'Indian'.

Etym: From French "sauvage" (wild). A Métis French origin or influence is suggested by the following citation from materials of the Michif language program: **savazh**, **savæzh** 'Indian' (Fleury and Barkwell 4, 5). WB remembered that French-speaking community members would sometimes refer to Indians as [sʌvǽš] (sic), a term which he took to be derogatory. He was not aware that his own word for 'Indian' (**shawash**) is from the same source. *Cf* Bay Center CW [sʌwáš] <sɑwá⁽ˈ⁾ʃ> 'Indian'.

shenu •ʳ <shenu> (St. Onge) 'knee'.

Etym: From French "genou" \ʒ(ə)nu\.

ubut [ʔʊ/bú(ˀ)t̪, ʔʊ.bó(ˀ)t̪, ʔo.p̪ó(ˀ)t̪] *Ref:* JH 1928, CR 'end, goal'.

Etym: From Canadian French "au bout" (at the end; *cf* "le but", goal); in contrast to Standard French, the Canadian pronunciation retains final [t] (MLT).

8 From multiple sources

ənk'aw [ʔʌ́n/k'á(ˀ)ʊ] *Ref:* EJ 'untie'.

Etym: From English "un-" + CW (from Chinookan) **k'aw** 'tied'.

ikt^{h}as [ʔɪ́k.tʌs] *Ref:* EJ, EP 'clothes'.

Etym: From CW (from Chinookan) **ikta** 'thing, something' + the English plural suffix *–s*. As EJ remarked, "**ikt^{h}as** is clothes . . . 'things' they said" (EJ 44). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ɪ́ktʌs] <'ɪ́ktɑs> 'things'.

kakupus [k̟á(ˀ).gʊ.pʊs] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'seemingly, as if'.

Etym: Contracted for CW (of obscure origin) **kakwa** 'thus, so' + CW (from Chinookan) **pus** 'if, would'.

lakamas [lá.k̟ʌ/má(ˀ)s, lʌ.k̟á(ˀ).mʌs] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, EJ, JP 'camas; edible roots'.

Etym: From Nez Perce *qém'es* 'camas', picked up by French-speaking voyageurs and introduced into CW with the French article *la-*. *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌkʌmá·s] <lɑkɑmá·s> 'camas'.

lap^{h}eyl •ʳ *Ref:* <lɑpél> (Middle Columbia CW [Joe Peter], jph 18.0009: one of Harrington's more cryptic citations; in its entirety it reads: "lɑpél We used a can for boiling").

Etym: Evidently, a local French borrowing of English "pail".

lap^{h}usmu [lá.pʊs.mʊ] *Ref:* JH 1928 'saddle-blanket, sitting-blanket; bed'.

Etym: According to Kinkade (2004:38), this word is ultimately from Ojibwa *appišimo·n* 'something to lie or sit on'; initial *la-* shows that it was introduced into CW by French-speaking fur-company employees. *Cf lapišmú* 'saddle-blanket' (Cowlitz [Kinkade]).

latsik^{h}an-stik •ʳ *Ref:* <Latsikanstik> 'oak' (Demers).

Etym: From a Chinookan noun plus CW (from English) **stik** 'wood': *i-láckan* <i-lá:t̪s̪-kan> (Chinook [Curtis]), *iɬ-náčkan* (Wishram [Dyk 94]) 'oak'; *cf ɬ-t'útəlačkan* <ʟt!ō´tElatckan> 'hearth-side sitting-plank' (a feature of traditional Chinookan houses) (KT 100.10).

lesuk^{h}ər [lɛ.sú(ˀ).kʌr] Ref: JH 1928 'sugar'.

Etym: MLT observes that the CW form violates expected pattern for deriving a CW word from a French source: the putative source, "le sucre" \lə sykr\, would probably have dropped its final [r]; and the vowel \y\ [ü] should not be represented by CW [u]. Apparently, local French from English "sugar".

lishat [lɪ.šá(ˀ)t] *Ref:* JH 1928 'shirt'.

Etym: Apparently, local French from English "shirt".

p^{h}aɬlam [p^{h}á(ˀ)ɬ.lʌm; p^{h}á(ˀ).tɬʌm, p^{h}á(ˀ).ɬʌm, p̪á(ˀ).ɬʌm] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'drunk'.

Etym: While obviously compound in origin (consisting of **p^{h}aɬ** 'full', from Chinookan, and **lam** 'booze', from English), this item is usually perceived and pronounced as one word, with stress falling on the first syllable.

p^{h}asayuks [pa.sá(ˀ).yuks; pa.šá(ˀ).yuks] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ, JP 'French'.

Etym: Two etymologies of this word

are on record. Gibbs (1863:20), noting that Chinookans referred to Lewis and Clark as "Pashisheooks", proposes Chinookan *-pašíši* 'blanket' + *-ukš* [plural]. Hale (1846:640) proposes "Français" \frãse\ (also \frãsa\ in Canadian French) 'French' + *-ukš*, observing that Chinookan lacks the segments [f] and [r] and the nasalized vowel: hence, (assumed Chinookan) [pasá(ɪ)] + *-ukš* 'French person/people'. While Gibbs's proposal no doubt explains Lewis and Clark's "Pashisheooks" (*cf* Lewis and Clark in Moulton 1990, 6:434: "they call us pâ-shish′-e-ooks, or *cloth men*"), Hale's form/meaning match is more convincing as an explanation of CW **pʰasayuks**.

p'us [p'ú⁽ˀ⁾s; pʰú⁽ˀ⁾s, p̯ú⁽ˀ⁾s; pʰʊ́s.pʰʊs] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'cat'.

Etym: Ultimately from English "puss" (compare alternate forms), [p'] marking a Chinookan diminutive. [s], which belongs to the original English word, can also mark a diminutive form in Chinookan; according to Sapir (in Boas 641-642), [p] (in the source-word) changes to [p'] (in Chinookan) because "*p* in *-pus* [sic] would not be consistent with diminutive *s*". *Cf* Bay Center CW <pú·spʊs, pu·s> 'cat'.

saltsəqw [sá⁽ˀ⁾l.tsəqw] *Ref:* WB 'ocean; saltwater'.

Etym: From English "salt" plus CW (from Chinookan) **tsəqw** 'water'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [sɔ́lt-tsɔqw] <sɔ́·lt tsɷ̓ʀw̓> 'salt-water'.

təmwata [t̪ʌ́m/wá⁽ˀ⁾t̪a, t̪ʊm.wá⁽ˀ⁾t̪ər] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, Gatschet (1877:31) 'Willamette Falls, Oregon City; Willamette Falls Chinookans'.

Etym: From CW (from Chinookan) **tum** 'thump' + English "water". *Cf* Bay Center CW [tʌmwátʌ, tʌmwɔ́tʌ] <tɑ̃mwâ·tɑ, tɑ̃mwɔ̂·tɑ> 'waterfall'.

wikna [wɪ́k̟.nʌ] *Ref:* WB, EP 'isn't that right?'.

Etym: From CW (from Nootka Jargon) **wik** 'no' + CW (from Chinookan/Salishan) **na** '?'.

9 Of obscure origin

aha [ʔá/há⁽ˀ⁾, ʔʌ.hʌ́] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, CR 'yes'.

Etym: Also recorded as 'yes' in Kalapuyan (Takeuchi 1969); cf also English "ùhúh".

aləksh [ʔá⁽ˀ⁾.ləkš] *Ref:* EP 'beg for'.

Etym: This word suggests, without perfectly matching, some elements recorded from local Salishan languages: *cf* √ʔale- 'pity, poor', √ʔaləqʷ- 'loosen' (Tillamook [Thompson and Thompson]); *ó·x̣ʷš=alač'a* 'beggar' (from √ʔó·x̣ʷaš- 'beg for' + *=alač'a* 'agent, doer of' [lexical suffix]; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]: *cf* Lower Chehalis [Snow] *uxʷ* 'give').

alikʰuchik [<ɑllíkotchik> (Gatschet 1877:111)] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:111) 'dentalium shells' (given as English translation of Tualatin <atchípin>).

Etym: Of obscure origin. Gibbs's dictionary includes <Luk′-ut-chee, Lá-kwit-chee> as a word for clams "used chiefly on Puget Sound". Gibbs's form may be from French "la coquille" \kɔkij\ (shell), as he suggests: note that "qu" [k] would tend to be palatalized in Canadian French, making the substitution of "tch" for "qu" less strange than it might first appear. Gill's dictionary (1909 ed., 47) has <Al′-lĭ-kå-cheek′> as "a small shell worn as an ornament for the ear"; we have so far been unable to trace Gill's source.

alim [ʔʌ.lí⁽ˀ⁾m; ʔɪ.lí⁽ˀ⁾m, ʔɛ.lé⁽ˀ⁾m] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'to rest'.

Etym: French "aliment" (food) has

been suggested as the source of this word. But according to MLT: "Even if the meanings were more compatible, this [French] word is not an ordinary, everyday word like English 'food', it belongs to a higher, more specialized register (e.g. when discussing nutrition) and would have been unlikely in the vocabulary of French speakers in the relevant time and place"; moreover, "the expected correspondence [of 'aliment'] with CW would be *(a)lima, not **alim**." *Cf* (especially with reference to EJ's alternate forms **ilim, eleym**) the Lower Chinook verb-stem *-ʔim* 'feed', as in *n-a-l-ʔim-a* '[I-her-to- *Stem* -future] I will feed her' (Boas 619), *í-l-ʔim* <ē'l'ēm> '[him-to- *Stem*] give him food' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]). If the word is indeed originally Chinookan, its usually recorded CW form may reflect a French-speakers' folk-etymology.

champʰuyk [tšám/pʰú(ˈ)ɪk~pʰó(ˈ)ɪk; šæm.pʰú(ˈ).wɪg] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:70, 267, 282), David LaChance, EL 'Champoeg'.

Etym: The first pronunciation cited corresponds both to Gatschet (1877:70, 267, 282), reflecting the usage of Tualatin-speaking members of the Grand Ronde community, and to pioneer-era English pronunciations of the name; the second pronunciation (from David LaChance and EL) apparently reflects local French influence. Gatschet also gives Tualatin *ča-číma-búičuk* 'place (in front of?) *búičuk* (yampah, *Perideridea* sp., probably, *P. oregana*)', for a hill in the vicinity where Indians once gathered seasonally to dig yampah - a nutritious root that could be eaten either raw or boiled. The historical town name is probably related to the name of the plant, though the exact derivation is obscure.

chasti [tšá(ˈ)s̩.t̩ɪ; tšɛ́(ˈ)s̩.t̩ɪ] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:31, 69), Jacobs (CCT 552, Tualatin [Berman slip-files]), WB 'Shastas'.

Etym: Origin obscure. The Chinuk Wawa form of the name is also Chinookan, and shared generally by speakers of Northwest Oregon languages.

chipchip [tšɪ́ˈp.tšɪp] *Ref:* JH 1928 'winking'.

Etym: Of obscure origin.

hayash [há/yá(·)š] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'big; greatly'.

Etym: Of obscure origin. Gibbs (1863:5) proposed that the word is "corrupted from" the Nootkan word ultimately underlying **hayu** (refer to **hayu** 'many, much' in the Nootka Jargon list). A Chinookan particle of similar form/meaning has been recorded from the extreme upriver dialects, but not, so far as we know, from any downriver dialect: *haʔas* 'plentiful, more than enough' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). Maria Parker Pascua (2001), director of the Makah language program, points to Makah Nootkan *x̣ayaač'* 'high', corresponding to Ditidaht Nootkan *xaačk* 'high' (Powell 117). *Cf* also Ditidaht *haac'* 'tall; high-ranking' (Powell 77). While some such Nootkan form could conceivably have given rise to a Nootka Jargon word resembling CW **hayash** 'big', the question must remain open for lack of documentation. *Cf* Bay Center CW [hʌyáš] <hɑyá·ʃ> 'big'.

hilu [hí(ˈ).lʊ~o; hé(ˈ).lo] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, CR 'lacking, gone, expired'.

Etym: Of obscure origin. Lower Chehalis Salishan has *hílu* 'no, not', alongside *miłt* 'no, not' (Snow); only

miłt has cognates in other Salishan languages, *hílu* is unique to Lower Chehalis. Dale Kinkade (personal communication) suspects an ultimate Chinookan origin, but no resemblant Chinookan forms are on record to support his hunch. *Cf* Bay Center CW [hílu, ʔílu] <hé:lʊ, hé·lʊ, hí·ləw, ʼí·lʊ> 'no, not, none'.

kakwa [ḵá.(ˈ)ḵwʌ~gwʌ; kʰá(ˈ).ḵwʌ~gwʌ; ḵá(ˈ).ḵʊ~o(/gʊ~o), kʰá(ˈ).ḵʊ~o(/gʊ~o)] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR, EP 'accordingly; like, resembling'.

Etym: Of obscure origin. *Chinook Texts*, dictated by Charles Cultee, shows an example of apparent use as a Chinookan particle: *kákʷa* <kā′koa> 'thus' (CT 67.16). Since this was not one of Cultee's usual Chinook words for the indicated meaning, it is possible that we have here an intrusion from CW, which Cultee spoke fluently. *Kathlamet Texts*, also dictated by Cultee, shows another (no doubt genuinely Chinookan) particle: *ákʷa* 'thus' (KT 50.8, 51.4, 52.6, 54.4, 55.1, etc.). But an even closer match to the CW is presented by Nootka Jargon **kwokwokwa** 'like (this)' (Clark 2005): *cf* Nootka Nootkan *qʷa-* 'thus, such, so' (Sapir and Swadesh 294), Makah Nootkan *qʷa·* 'to be thus' (Pasqua 2001). *Cf* Bay Center CW [kákwʌ] <kâ·kwɑ> 'all same'.

kapshwala [ḵáp/šwá(ˈ).lʌ, ḵʌ́p/šwá(ˈ).lʌ; ḵáp/swá(ˈ).lʌ, ḵʌ́p/swá(ˈ).lʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'to steal'.

Etym: Of obscure origin. A Chinookan noun of suggestive but not identical form and meaning has been recorded from the extreme upriver dialects, but not, so far as we know, from any downriver dialect: Wasco-Wishram *i-q'apšálwaš* 'turtle' (base form), *is-k'ápsalwas* (diminutive form) 'lock (of door)' (Sapir in Boas 641); according to Hymes (Wasco-Wishram slip-files), the noun is *-q'apšalwaš*, which yields 'turtle' with masculine *i-*, and 'lock' with dual *is-*. Clark (2005) reconstructs Nootka Jargon **kap(t)shitl** 'to steal': *cf* Nootka Nootkan *haptšiƛ* 'to hide (something or someone)' (Powell 153) - again, the parallels are suggestive but not conclusive. *Cf* Bay Center CW [kʌpšwálʌ] <kɑpʃwâ·lɑ> 'to steal'.

kimtəks [ḵí(ˈ)m.dəks] *Ref:* WB 'feel deeply about, regard with respect'.

Etym: This obscure word was recorded only from WB; possibly, it traces to **kəmtəks** 'know, understand', amplified by an elsewhere unrecorded lengthening of the first syllable.

kʰiyəp [kʰí(ˈ).yəp; k'í(ˈ).yəp] *Ref:* WB, EJ, CR, MM 'dark'.

Etym: Of obscure origin.

k'alapʰuya [k'á.lʌ/pʰú(ˈ).yʌ] *Ref:* VH, WB 'Kalapuyas'.

Etym: This is the usual name for Kalapuyans in CW and other local languages. It apparently came into regional currency from Chinookan, where it has been recorded in the inflected forms *itk'alapúyawaykš*, *itgalapúywiukš*. The origin of the stem-forms *-k'alapúyawa*, *-galapúywi* is obscure (HNAI 7:552).

k'watʰin [k'wʌ́/tʰí(ˈ)n; k'wʌ́/ṯí(ˈ)n] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'stomach'.

Etym: Origin obscure. Local Salishan sources show matches for the first part of the word, but reveal no obvious explanation of the whole form: *k'ʷásn* 'stomach' (from √k'ʷasə́n-, Cowlitz [Kinkade]; or √k'ʷásin-, Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]). Gibbs attributes the word to Chinook; and regional CW forms showing initial [ya] do suggest a Chinookan noun with *ia-* 'his'. The

noun-stem *-q'ʷutan*, recorded in Wasco-Wishram *a-q'ʷután* 'wood trough' (Hymes slip-files; *cf* Bay Center CW below), is suggestive, inasmuch as some Chinookan nouns assume different meanings depending on which gender they are assigned. *Cf* Bay Center CW [q'wʌtín] <ĸ'wɑttí·n> 'belly'.

k'wayts [k'wá(ˀ)ɪts] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ 'nine'.

Etym: 'Nine' is recorded as *kʷict* <kuítst> (Boas 637), *kʷis* (Wishram [Dyk 137]) in Chinookan, but as *k'wí·st* (Tualatin [Jacobs 1936a]) in Kalapuyan. The source of the CW is clearly local, only the exact derivation is obscure. *Cf* Bay Center CW <k'wá·yts'> 'nine'.

lakamin [lʌ.ḳʌ.mí(ˀ)n, lʌ.gʌ.mí(ˀ)n] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877a:43), CR, ET 'soup, stew, gravy; potatoes and water stirred till thick; food requiring mixture/stirring'.

Etym: Of obscure origin. The word is widely known on the Columbia Plateau: *cf* Yakama Sahaptin **lakamíin** 'stew, flour soup' (Beavert and Hargus 2009), Wasco-Wishram *a-lagámin* 'stew' (Hymes slip-files) . It is also known in local Salishan, where Kinkade (1991:339) attributes it to "French la commune, via Chinook Jargon lagamín". However, MLT considers "la commune" a very unlikely source for the meanings attributed, while Nicole St-Onge (personal communication to George Lang) has never encountered this or any like usage in her many years of interviewing French Canadian Métises. The earliest attestation as CW, as far as we know, comes in Fr Demers' dictionary (1871): <lakamin> 'soup, gravy, stew'.

lapʰala [lá.pʌ/lá(ˀ), lʌ́.pʌ/lá(ˀ); lʌ.pʰlá(ˀ)] *Ref:* WB, CR, EP 'roast food on sticks in front of flames'.

Etym: Of obscure origin. *Cf* Bay Center CW [lʌpʌlá] <lɑpɑllá·> "to roast on an erected stake by a camp fire".

laq [lá(ˀ)q] *Ref:* CR 'flapping (sound or motion)'.

Etym: Of obscure origin. Likely an onomatopoeic particle from some local language or languages.

lariyet [lʌ.rɪ.yɛ́(ˀ)t] *Ref:* JH 1928 'lariat; a lash'.

Etym: From English? Spanish? (compare **spanyol**, below).

lawtish [lá(ˀ)ʊ.ʈš, lá(ˀ)ʊ.ʈš] *Ref:* EP 'a bickerer, argumentative person'.

Etym: Of obscure origin. Related to English "loutish"?

lideynt •ʳ *Ref:* <lɪ·dént'> (N Oregon Coast CW [Louie Fuller], jph 20.0119: Harrington notes, "[informant] thinks, but is not sure of the jarg[on] form") 'dandelion'.

Etym: Jim Armagost (personal communication) suggests that non-standard French "les dents-de-lion" (literally, lion's teeth, an old word for dandelion) is the source. MLT suspects that [dent] is actually from "dand", a shortening of English "dandelion", since French "les dents" also yields CW **lita**.

malaẓ [má(ˀ).lʌẓ; má(ˀ)lx] *Ref:* LK, Gatschet (1877:5), JH (Jacobs 1945:303) 'tinware, pan, dishes'.

Etym: Of obscure origin. Well-known as CW to the north of the lower Columbia, according to Jay Powell (personal communication). *Cf* Bay Center CW [mʌláẓ] <mɑllá·ẓ, mɑlá·ẓ> 'tin; pan, dishpan'.

mash [má(ˀ)š] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'throw, put away, leave behind'.

Etym: Of obscure origin. Gibbs attributes the word to French

"marcher" 'to walk, step, march'; while Jay Powell (personal communication) points to French "(le) marché" 'market, bargain, deal'. Differences of form and meaning however render these possibilities less than entirely convincing. *Cf* Bay Center CW <má·ʃ> 'to throw; leave it, throw it away'.

mashachi [má/šá(ˈ).tši, má/sá(ˈ).tši] *Ref:* JH 1928/1941, WB, EJ, CR 'bad'.

Etym: Of obscure origin. Gibbs says the word is from Chinookan. We fail to find a direct match in the linguistic record; but note the following Chinookan particle of similar form (and diametrically opposed meaning!): <masā′tsiɩx> (CT 70.14, 166.22, 218.18), <masā′tciɩ> (KT 146.14) 'pretty'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [mʌšátši, mišátši] <mɑʃâ·tʃi, miʃá·tʃi> 'no good, bad'.

molala [mó(ˈ).lʌ.lʌ] *Ref:* EJ 'Molalas'.

Etym: This is the usual name for Molalas in CW and other local languages. It apparently came into regional currency from Chinookan, where it has been recorded as *mulálíš* (Clackamas, Jacobs) and [mólališ] (Wasco Upper Chinook and Columbia River Sahaptin, Bruce Rigsby) (HNAI 12:445). The origin of the name is obscure.

musmus [mú(ˈ)s.mʊs, mʊ́s.mʊs] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ, CR 'cow, ox, buffalo'.

Etym: Of obscure origin. The word occurs in Chinookan and local Salishan with the puzzling added element [-ki] : *i-músmuski* (CCT 551), √músmuski, √wamúsmuski (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]), √wəmúsmuski (Cowlitz [Kinkade]) 'cow, cattle'. David Robertson (The Chinook List, September 2003) proposes an ultimate Klamath and/or Molala source: cf Klamath *mosmas~mosmos*, Molala *musims* 'black-tailed deer'. The CW form is widely recorded as a loan word in Northwest languages. *Cf* Bay Center CW [músʌmʔʊs] <mú·sɑm’ʊs> 'cow head' [sic].

nəx [nʌ́x] *Ref:* 'Dear, "hon" [term of endearment]' (EP, MM, Velma Mercier).

Etym: Of obscure origin.

pʰik’w [pʰí(ˈ)k’w] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB 'back; back-bone'.

Etym: Of obscure origin.

pulali [pʊ́.lʌ.li, pʊ́(ˈ).lʌ.li] *Ref:* JH 1928 'powder, sand, gunpowder'.

Etym: Of obscure origin. *Cf* Bay Center CW [pʊ́lʌli] <pû·lɑli> 'powder'.

p’aɬiɬ [p’á(ˈ).ɬiɬ] *Ref:* WB, EJ, CR, EL 'lie, confabulate, BS'.

Etym: Of obscure origin. It is interesting that this word, known as CW only from Grand Ronde, also appears as the personal name of someone who lived there: Stevens Savage (Molala name: **p’aɬiɬ**), who through Frachtenberg's work is the source of much of what we know about the Molala language and Molala traditional culture.

qʰohoho [qʰɔ́(ˈ).hɔ.hɔ] *Ref:* JH 1928 'shinny'.

Etym: Of obscure origin.

saliks [sá(ˈ).liks] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, EJ 'to quarrel, fight; angry'.

Etym: Of obscure origin. *Cf* Bay Center CW <sâ·llıks, sâ·lıks, sá·lıks> 'mad; to fight'.

santiyam [sán.ti/yá(ˈ)m] *Ref:* JH (Swadesh 1953) 'Santiams'.

Etym: A name of obscure origin. It appears in Jacobs's Santiam Kalapuya field notes (mj 78:n.p.) in the form *santyám* <sȧnTyȧ´m>; but

the Santiams' usual name for themselves was *anhálpam* 'those above (upstream or upland)' (HNAI 7:552).

saplel [sáp/lɛ́ˀl, sáˀp.ləl; sáp/lɪ́ˀl~lɛ́ˀl; sáˀb.lɛ] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, LK, EJ, CR 'grain, wheat, flour, bread'.

Etym: While the origin of this word is obscure, it is clearly local and not from French, as even some Indians have thought (note the alternate form **sable**, evidently influenced by French "sablé", meaning shortbread or biscuits). Lewis and Clark recorded "shapallel", "chapallel" as the name of a meal locally made from roots and processed into cakes (Moulton 1990, 5:39, 7:92). Later-day Kiksht (Upper Chinook) speakers described *a-sáblal* as: 1) "Indian biscuits made of powdered roots baked in ashes, or the sun"; 2) a flat loaf made of *a-dwák* ("wild Indian carrot"); 3) modern baked goods, specifically, flat bread-loaves or biscuits (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). According to George Aguilar (*When the River Ran Wild!: Indian Traditions on the Mid-Columbia and the Warm Springs Reservation*, p. 64), *adwák* is Yampah (*Perideridea gairdneri*). *Cf* Bay Center CW [tsʌpʌlɪ́ˑl] <tsɑpɑlɪ́ˑl, tsɑpᵃlɪ́ˑl> 'bread'.

silets [sɪ.lɛ́ˀts] *Ref:* ET 'Siletz'.

Etym: A name of obscure origin; Harrington's Salmon River Tillamook fieldnotes show it in the local form [nš(ə)lǽtš'] (HNAI 7:567).

siyapuł [sɪ.yáˀ.p̣ʊł , sɪ.yáˀ.p̣əł; šɪ.yáˀ.p̣ʊł] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'hat'.

Etym: While a Chinookan noun of identical form and meaning is on record, the ultimate source must be considered obscure in view of historical evidence for a Nootkan source: Chinook *ł-šiápuł* <ʟciā'pōʟ> 'a hat', *ł-iá-siapuł* <ʟiā'siapōʟ> 'his hat' (CT 24.8, 24.16); Nootka Jargon **(t)siapuks** (Clark 2005), from Nootkan *ciya·pxʷs*, *ciyapuxʷs*, *ciyapux(s)* 'hat' (Powell 51-52). *Cf* Bay Center CW <sɪyá·pʊł> 'hat'. French "chapeau" is the source of another CW word for 'hat' (refer to **shapú**); there seems no good reason to consider it also the source of CW **siyapuł**, as Gibbs does.

skichutxwa [skɪ.tšúˀt.xwʌ; tšúˀt.xwʌ] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:24, 71, 94, 282), Fred Yelkes (mj Molala slip-files) 'Fort Vancouver'.

Etym: Origin and original reference obscure. Lionnet's CW vocabulary shows <sketsotwa> 'Columbia River'. *Cf qicútxʷaʔ*, *kčútxʷa* (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade 1991:107, 335]), <(tchɑ) tchút'hwɑ> (Tualatin [Gatschet 1877:94]), *skičútxʷa* <skɪtcú·txwɑ> (Molala [mj slip-files]) 'Fort Vancouver'.

skukúm [sk̓ʊ.k̓úˀm] *Ref:* VH, WB, EP 'monster; something dangerous'.

Etym: Of obscure origin. Note: **skukúm** 'harmful being; something dangerous' : **skúkum** 'strong'. Gibbs writes both <Skoo´-kum, Skoo-koom´>, given as one word: "A ghost; an evil spirit or demon; strong". Emma Luscier, Harrington's main Bay Center source, attributed <skókʊm> to "jargon" (CW); but <skʊkó·m> to local Salishan (Lower Chehalis). She recalled "one <skʊkó·m> who had a projection [on] his foot a ft. long clear as an icicle & he w[oul]d kick one with this" (jph 17.0077). The source may well be local Salishan, as Gibbs notes; *s-* is often noted as a Salishan nominal prefix. On the other hand, *š-*, *s-* are also noted as noun-classifiers in Chinookan, as in: *s-kəním* 'toy canoe', *š-kákʷli* 'lamprey eel', etc. (Boas 602-603).

skukum [sḵú(ˈ).ḵʊm, sḵó.ḵʊm] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, CR 'strong'.

Etym: Of obscure origin. Note: **skúkum** 'strong' : **skukúm** 'harmful being; something dangerous'. Attributed to Salishan, though a Chinookan origin cannot be entirely ruled out (details: **skukúm**, *etym*).

snas [sná(ˈ)s] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB 'rain; to rain'.

Etym: Of obscure origin. In Kathlamet Chinook, the noise of rain is recorded as *č'as č'as č'as* (KT 113.2). *Cf* Bay Center CW <sná·s> 'rain'.

spanyol [spán/yó(ˈ)l] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:238) 'Mexican'.

Etym: This name could either be from French "espagnol", or from Spanish "español"; the pronunciations are the same. The Hudson Bay Company regularly sent out trading brigades from Fort Vancouver to Spanish-speaking California, raising the possibility that the name dates back to these early contacts. There were also some individuals of Mexican ancestry in the nineteenth-century reservation community. Note that "Spanish" is old local English for anyone or anything Mexican.

shox̣ [šóx̣] *Ref:* WB, EP 'to slip'.

Etym: Of obscure origin. The Chinookan onomatopoeic particle *šəx̣*, *šix̣* [noise of rattling or rustling] (see **səx̣**, Chinookan list) is close in form and at least suggestive in meaning, but we fail to find relevant examples in the available sources.

tʰantʰin [tʰán/tʰí(ˈ)n] *Ref:* JH 1928 'canteen'.

Etym: Recorded by Jacobs from JH in 1928 as <tánti·n>. While the word suggests English "canteen", there seems no obvious motivation for the substitution of CW [t] for initial English [k].

tʰəna [tʰəná(ˈ)] *Ref:* EP, JP 'a (human) pest, nuisance'.

Etym: Of obscure origin. Related to Nootka Jargon derived **tənas** 'child'?

tʰulitʰuli •ʳ *Ref:* <tuletule> (Demers) 'wind instrument'.

Etym: Of obscure origin; possibly related to a Chinookan noun: *cf* Wasco-Wishram *i-dudu* 'flute' (Hymes slip-files).

tutush [ṭú/ṭú(ˈ)š; tʰʊ.tʰú(ˈ)š] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB 'to nurse, suck; breast, nipple'.

Etym: Of obscure origin. Gibbs (1863:26) attributes the word to "Chippeway" (Ojibwa). *Cf* Bay Center CW [tʊtúš] <tʊtú·ʃ> "chiche".

t'isay [t'ɪ'/sá(ˈ)ɪ; t'ɪ'/šá(ˈ)ɪ, t'ʎ.šaɪ] *Ref:* VH, WB, EJ, CR, EP, JP [a gambling game].

Etym: Of obscure origin. Elder memory associates the game especially with Siletz Reservation, suggesting that the word may come from a coastal language.

t'łaxanhæn [tɬ'á(ˈ).xʌn.hæn] *Ref:* EP 'deadbeat, good-for-nothing'.

Etym: Of obscure origin. The last syllable of the word suggests English "hand", while the first two syllables appear to match local Salishan √λ'á·x̣an- 'to hunt' (as cited from Kinkade's Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz dictionaries): 'hunting for a handout'?

t'syuʔ [tsʸóʔ] *Ref:* WB 'to cohabit'.

Etym: Of obscure origin.

upq'ati [ʔóp.q'ʌ.ṭɪ] *Ref:* JH 1928 'bow'.

Etym: Of obscure origin.

upx̣achi [ʔóp.x̣ʌ.tši] *Ref:* JH 1928 'beads;

Indian money'.

Etym: Of obscure origin.

wapt^{h}u [wá$^{(ˈ)}$p.tʊ; wá$^{(ˈ)}$.pə.tʊ] *Ref:* JH 1928, LK, WB, EJ, CR 'potatoes' (originally: 'wapato [*Sagittaria latifolia*]').

Etym: Of obscure origin. The late Professor David French of Reed College, Portland, proposed to Zenk in 1976 that the CW is from an Upper Chinook noun based on a Kalapuyan stem: Upper Chinook *wa-* (*~a-*), feminine singular; Tualatin Kalapuya <mám-pdu>, Yoncalla Kalapuya <gám-pduʔ> 'wapato (*Sagittaria latifolia*)' (Kalapuyan spellings following Berman 1990:54, who considers the stem-forms <-pdu>, <-pduʔ> to be cognate, that is, indicative of a word belonging originally to ancestral Kalapuyan). This very plausible explanation only lacks solid evidence that the word was indeed originally indigenous to Chinookan. Alternative proposals - one deriving it from Cree *wapatowa* 'white mushroom'; another deriving it from Spanish and/or Portugese for 'potato' - are difficult to square with Lewis and Clark's observation that the word was in wide use on the lower Columbia in 1805-06 ("a root they [the Natives] call Wapto", etc.), before the arrival of resident foreign settlers (Thwaites 1904-1905, 3:196-197, 4:7, 10). *Cf* Bay Center CW <wá·ptʊ> 'potato'; also (mf 17.0170, 0184): [sʌwáš wáptʊ] <sɑwá·ʃ wá·p(ˈ)tʊ> 'wild potato' (that is, wapato).

wax [wʌ́h] *Ref:* ET [exclamation].

Etym: Of obscure origin.

x̣axə̣t'sak [x̣á$^{(ˈ)}$.x̣ə.ts'ʌk] *Ref:* JH 1928 'grasshopper'.

Etym: Of obscure origin.

yix [yɪˈx] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'tipsy, half-drunk; off-base, out of touch'.

Etym: Of obscure origin.

ʔayuʔayu [ʔá$^{(ˈ)}$.yʊ.ʔà$^{(ˈ)}$.yʊ] *Ref:* ET 'nickering (noise made by a horse)'.

Etym: Of obscure origin.

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